THE

LIFE

OF

OLIVER CROMWELL,

Lord-Protector

OF THE

Common-wealth

OF

England, Scotland, *and* Ireland.

Impartially collected from the beſt HISTORIANS, *and ſeveral Original* MANUSCRIPTS.

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THE LIFE OF OLIVER CROMWELL.

PART I.

Containing an Account of his LIFE, ACTIONS, and WARS, to the Time of the KING's Death.

CHAP. I.

Some Account of him till the breaking out of the WAR, *between the* KING *and* PARLIAMENT.

OLIVER CROMWELL was born at Huntingdon, April 25, 1599. His father was Mr. Robert Cromwell, ſecond ſon of Sir Henry Cromwell, and brother to Sir Oliver, who at his houſe at Hinchinbrook, made the moſt noble entertainment for King JAMES I. at his acceſſion to the Engliſh Crown, that had ever been offered by a private ſubject. Sir Oliver had a very great eſtate; but our Oliver's father being a younger brother, had not above 300*l. per annum.* His birth and deſcent.

The name of this family was not originally Cromwell, but Williams. Morgan Williams, ſon

and heir of William, of a very ancient family in Wales, married the ſiſter of the famous Thomas lord Cromwell, who was made earl of Eſſex by king Henry VIII. By her he had a ſon named Richard, who when he grew up was knighted by King Henry, and took the name of his uncle Cromwell, tho' he kept the arms of Williams. He married Frances, daughter and co-heir of Sir Thomas Murſyn; and upon the diſſolution of the monaſteries, obtained all thoſe lands in Huntingdonſhire, which belonged to any of them in that county, which amounted to a prodigious value: And this was the firſt ſettling of this family in that county. Of this Sir Richard Cromwell, we have the following account: On the 1ſt of May, 1540, there was held a ſolemn triumph at Weſtminſter before king Henry VIII. by Sir John Dudley, Sir Richard Cromwell, and four other challengers; which was proclaimed in France, Spain, Scotland, and Flanders: On the ſecond day at tournaments, Sir Richard Cromwell overthrew Mr. Palmer off his horſe; and on the fifth day at Barryers, he likewiſe overthrew Mr. Cuſpey, to his and the challengers great honour. He had a ſon, Sir Henry Cromwell, (our protector's grandfather) who was knighted by queen Elizabeth in the 6th year of her reign. This Sir Henry married Joan, daughter and heir of Sir Ralph Warren, and made his chief ſeat upon the ruins of a houſe of nuns at Hinchinbrook. He was a very worthy gentleman, and was highly honoured and beloved both in court and country. He had ſix ſons; Oliver, (already mentioned) Robert, Henry, Richard, Philip, and Ralph. The ſecond ſon, Mr. Robert Cromwell, who was alſo a gentleman of very good reputation in his country, and was no leſs eſteemed than any of his anceſtors for his perſonal worth, married the daughter of Sir Richard Steward, and by her had the famous Oliver, the ſubject of the enſuing hiſtory.

Though

Though Mr. Robert Cromwell had but a ſmall eſtate, yet he took great care of his ſon's education, ſending him, when he grew up, to the univerſity of Cambridge, where he was a ſtudent in Sidney college, though 'twas obſerved, that he was not ſo much inclined to ſpeculation as to action. Whilſt he was here his father died, upon which he returned home, and led an extravagant kind of life, addicting himſelf to ſuch follies as young perſons are too apt to fall into; ſo that his mother was adviſed to ſend him up to Lincoln's-Inn, where he betook himſelf to the ſtudy of the law: but not liking that ſedentary employment, he ſoon returned again into the country, and followed his former vicious courſes, to the waſting of a great part of his paternal eſtate. At length he became greatly reformed, and grew mighty ſober and religious; and having an eſtate of four or five hundred pounds *per annum*, left him by Sir Robert Steward, his uncle by his mother's ſide, he married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir James Boucher.

His education and manner of life.

After his reformation, he adhered for ſome time to the church of England, very devoutly attending on the public ſervice; but at length, falling into the hands of ſome Puritans, he became a zealous friend to that party; frequently entertaining their miniſters at his houſe. After this time he is ſaid to have been ſo ſcrupulouſly juſt, that having ſome years before won thirty pounds of one Mr. Calton, at play, he now paid it him back again, telling him that he had got it by indirect and unlawful means, and that it would be a ſin in him to keep it any longer.

He falls in with the Puritans.

We hear nothing of his acting in a public capacity till the year 1628, when he was one of the committee of religion in king Charles's third parliament, and gave information to the houſe, that the biſhop of Wincheſter countenanced ſome who preached downright popery, and that it was by his

Is one of the committee of religion in K. Charles's third parliament.

means that Dr. Manwaring was promoted to a rich living; concluding, "If theſe be ſteps to church preferment, what are we ſhortly to expect?"

1637. His deſign of removing to New-England prevented.

The power of archbiſhop Laud growing grievous to the Puritans, he being very ſevere in his proceedings againſt them, many of them began to think of taking refuge in foreign plantations; and ſuch numbers of families actually tranſported themſelves, that the government at length taking umbrage at it, publiſhed a proclamation, to reſtrain the diſorderly tranſporting his Majeſty's ſubjects to the plantations in America, without a royal licence. Mr. Oliver Cromwell, together with Sir Matthew Boynton, Sir William Conſtable, Sir Arthur Haſlerigg, Mr. John Hampden, and ſeveral other gentlemen, were preparing to remove themſelves, and were actually embarked for that purpoſe; but were prevented by the ſaid proclamation, and the following order of council, "That the Lord treaſurer of England ſhould take ſpeedy and effectual courſe for the ſtay of eight ſhips now in the river of Thames prepared to go for New-England, and ſhould likewiſe give order for the putting on land all the paſſengers and proviſions therein intended for the voyage." And thus Mr. Cromwell's voyage to New-England was prevented.

1638. He oppoſes the draining of the fens.

About the year 1638, the king and ſome lords became undertakers for draining the fen-lands in Lincolnſhire, and the Iſle of Ely. This project was oppoſed by ſeveral, chiefly by the town of Cambridge; and Mr. Oliver Cromwell boldly headed this party againſt the undertakers for draining the fens. By this means, and by promiſing his farther aſſiſtance in their behalf, he got to be elected burgeſs for the town of Cambridge in 1640, to ſerve in that parliament, which was afterwards called the Long Parliament.

1640. Is choſen to ſerve in the Long Parliament.

In

In this parliament he ſoon ſhewed himſelf a zealous and forward oppoſer of grievances in religion; and 'tis ſaid, that one time when Sir Tho. Chicheley and Mr. Warwick were talking with him in the Houſe, about the affair of religion, he ſaid, "I can tell you, Sirs, what I would not have, though I cannot tell what I would." Concerns himſelf in the grievances of religion.

He was a great promoter of the Commons grand Remonſtrance of all the grievances in the nation from the king's acceſſion to that time, which was preſented to his Majeſty at his return from Scotland, ſoon after the Iriſh rebellion and maſſacre, in which above 150,000 Proteſtants, men, women, and children, were barbarouſly murdered by the Papiſts. A day having been appointed for retaking this remonſtrance into conſideration of the Houſe, upon its not being called for till noon that day, it was urged and conſented to, that it ſhould be deferred till the next morning; upon which occaſion Mr. Cromwell aſked the lord Falkland, "Why he was for deferring it, ſince that day would ſoon have determined it?" Who anſwered, "There would not be time enough, for ſure it would take ſome debate;" to which the other reply'd, "A very ſorry one," concluding it would be oppoſed but by a few: but the debate being entered upon about nine the next morning, continued all that day and the night following till three in the morning, when it was carried for the remonſtrance by nine voices only. And when the Houſe broke up, the lord Falkland aſked Mr. Cromwell, "Whether there had been a debate?" Who anſwered, "He would take his word another time;" and whiſpering him in the ear, ſolemnly aſſured him, "That if the remonſtrance had not paſſed, he would have ſold all he had the next morning, and never have ſeen England more; and he knew many other honeſt men of the ſame reſolution." 1641. Promotes the grand remonſtrance. His diſcourſe with the lord Falkland upon it.

The difference between the king and parliament (occaſioned by evil counſels on one hand, and continual

1642. The civil war breaks out.

tinual jealouſies and fears on the other) was now grown to ſuch a height, that ſoon after the preſenting this remonſtrance, it broke out into an open war between them; of which, ſo far as concerns our preſent purpoſe, we ſhall give ſome account in the following chapters.

CHAP. II.

From the breaking out of the Civil War, to the battle of Marſton-Moor.

Cromwell made capt. of a troop of horſe.

AT the breaking out of the war, Mr. Cromwell was commiſſioned by the parliament, to be captain of a troop of horſe, which he ſpeedily raiſed in his own country. In liſting them, he had regard to ſuch only as he thought to be ſtout and reſolute; and having compleated his troop he uſed this art to prove them: Upon the firſt muſter, near ſome of the King's garriſons, he privily placed twelve of them in an ambuſcade, who with a trumpet ſounding a charge, made furiouſly towards the body, of which above twenty, thinking they came from the enemy, preſently fled for fear, whom Cromwell immediately caſhiered, and mounted their horſes with ſuch as were more bold and couragious.

His ſtratagem to try their courage.

He ſecures Cambridge.

The Univerſity of Cambridge being not far off him, he very ſeaſonably ſecured it for the parliament, when a great quantity of the college-plate was juſt upon the point of being conveyed to the King at Oxford. And ſo active and induſtrious was he, that when Sir Thomas Conneſby, high ſheriff of Hertfordſhire, was going to proclaim the Earl of Eſſex, the parliament's General, and all his adherents traytors, at St. Albans, on a market-day, he ruſhed unawares into the town with a party of horſe, ſurprized the ſheriff and his aſſiſtants, and ſent them priſoners

Takes the high-ſheriff of Hertfordſhire.

priſoners to London, to the no ſmall ſatisfaction of the parliament, who gave him the thanks of the Houſe; from this time looking upon him as a very promiſing perſon for their ſervice.

He is made a colonel, and is very active for the parliament.

In the year 1643, he was advanced to the degree of a colonel, and by his own management raiſed a regiment of a thouſand horſe, with which he ranged about, and with great induſtry obſtructed many levies for the King in Cambridgeſhire, Eſſex, Suffolk, and Norfolk; and particularly he defeated the project of a counter-aſſociation for the King's ſervice, contrived by Sir John Pettus, Sir Edward Barker, and other gentlemen, at the town of Leſtoff in Suffolk, with great ſecreſy and celerity entering the town and ſurpriſing them all. Here he alſo gained good ſtore of ammunition, ſaddles, piſtols, powder, ſhot, and ſeveral engines of war, ſufficient to have ſerved a conſiderable force. And he ſurprized thoſe gentlemen in the very nick of time; for as many more, who were before liſted, deſigned the very next day to have met at the ſame place, and if their deſign had ſucceeded, the whole country had been in great danger of being loſt. So that this action of Cromwell's was a very ſeaſonable ſervice to the parliament, and proved a great diſcouragement to all the King's party both in Suffolk and Norfolk.

Takes Hilſden-houſe.

After this, he was ſent to guard ſome ammunition from Warwick to Gloceſter, and by the way took Hilſden-Houſe, and in it Sir Alexander Denton, the owner, colonel Smith, many inferior officers, about a hundred horſe, thirteen barrels of powder, and about a hundred and fifty common ſoldiers, beſides forty ſlain; then he gave an alarm to Oxford, and ſo went on to Gloceſter.

Made lieutenant general to the Earl of Manchester, and marches towards Newark.

He was now made lieutenant-general to the Earl of Manchester; and having raiſed a greater force of ſuch as came freely in to him, he marched towards Lincolnſhire, with a reſolution to aſſiſt thoſe forces which lay about Newark, one of the ſtrongeſt garriſons

garriſons then held for the King. In his march through Huntingdonſhire, he diſarmed many who were ill affected to the parliament. He was now above two thouſand ſtrong, and received an addition of horſe from captain Hotham. At his firſt approach before Newark he performed a good piece of ſervice: for captain Wray with his Lincolnſhire horſe too raſhly quartering near the town, was in the night ſet upon by the garriſon, which made a great ſally and ſurrounded and took all his men. But the alarm coming to Cromwell, he advanced, and at ten o'clock at night fell upon the Newarkers, reſcued captain Wray's troop, and took three of theirs, with the ſlaughter of many of them. After this, ſitting down before the town, he took many men and colours at ſeveral times; and ſoon after meeting with twenty-four troops of the King's horſe and dragoons near Grantham, he encountered them with ſuch fury and reſolution, that though he had but ſeven troops with him, he entirely routed them, and made ſeveral priſoners.

Routs the King's troops near Grantham.

The Earl of Newcaſtle, being informed that the Lord Willoughby of Parham had got poſſeſſion of the town of Gainſborough for the parliament, ſent his brother, colonel Cavendiſh, lieutenant-general of his army, with a great party of horſe and dragoons to ſummon it, himſelf marching after with the foot. Upon this Cromwell reſolved to attempt the relief of that place, and with twelve troops of horſe and dragoons marched thither, where he found the enemy, who were drawn up near the town, to be more than thrice his number, and no way to attack them, but through a gate and up hill; notwithſtanding which diſadvantages, he undauntedly fell upon them, and after ſome diſpute, entirely defeated them, killing many of their officers, and among them lieutenant-general Cavendiſh.

Relieves Gainſborough.

Of this action Cromwell himſelf gives the following account, in a letter dated July 31. "I march-

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ed after the taking of Burleigh, to Grantham, and was joined by the Lincolneers at North Scales, ten miles from Gainſborough. About a mile and a half from the town, we met the forlorn of the enemy, who drove a troop of our dragoons back to their main body. We advanced and came to the bottom of a ſteep hill, which we could not well get up but by ſome tracts; and the body of the enemy endeavoured to hinder us, but we prevailed and gained the top of it. This was done by the Lincolneers, who had the van guard. A great body of the enemy's horſe faced us there, at about a muſket-ſhot diſtance, and a good reſerve of a full regiment of horſe behind it. We did what we could to put our men in good order, and the enemy advanced towards us to prevent it, and take us at a diſadvantage; but in ſuch order as we were, we charged their great body, I having the right wing. We came up horſe to horſe, where we diſputed a pretty while with our ſwords and piſtols, all keeping cloſe order, ſo that one could not break the other. At laſt the enemy ſhrinking a little, our men ſoon perceived it, preſſed in upon them, and routed their whole body, ſome flying on one ſide, and others on the other, of the enemy's reſerve. Our men purſued them with good execution about ſix miles. I perceiving the reſerve ſtill unbroken, kept back major Whalley from the purſuit, and with my own troop, and two troops more of my regiment, we got into a body. In this reſerve was general Cavendiſh, who one while faced me, another while faced four of the Lincoln troops, which were all of ours that engaged the reſerve, the reſt being in purſuit of thoſe who fled. Gen. Cavendiſh charged the Lincolneers and routed them. Immediately I fell on his rear with my three troops, which did ſo aſtoniſh him, that he gave over the chaſe, and would have delivered himſelf from me; but I preſſing on, forced him down a hill, and below it drove the General and

His own account of the defeat of general Cavendiſh.

ſome of his ſoldiers into a quagmire, where my captain-lieutenant ſlew him with a thruſt under his ſhort ribs. The reſt of the body was wholly routed, not one man ſtaying on the place."

Here Whitelock ſays, "This was the beginning of his (viz. Cromwell's) great fortunes, and now he began to appear to the world. He had a brave regiment of horſe of his countrymen, moſt of them freeholders, and freeholders ſons, who upon matter of conſcience engaged in this quarrel under Cromwell. And thus being well armed within, by the ſatisfaction of their own conſciences, and without, by good iron arms, they would as one man, ſtand firmly, and charge deſperately." Cromwell's policy was very much ſeen in making choice of ſuch men as theſe, who had a perſuaſion they were engaged in the cauſe of God, to ſerve under him againſt the King's party.

Thus was Gainſborough relieved; but the victors had but ſhort time of rejoicing, for within two or three hours, the routed enemy rallying, and joining with the reſt of Newcaſtle's army, marched againſt them; whereupon they retreated to Lincoln that night in good order, and without any loſs, facing the enemy with three troops at a time, whilſt they drew off the reſt. Lincoln not being defenſible, Cromwell marched the next day to Boſton, to join the Earl of Mancheſter, who with his new-raiſed forces had very ſeaſonably reduced Lynn under the power of the parliament.

Marches to Boſton.

1644. To prevent any farther addition to Mancheſter's forces, the Earl of Newcaſtle advanced with his army, and detached a ſtrong party of horſe and dragoons towards Boſton, appearing by their Standards, to be eighty-ſeven troops, commanded by Sir John Henderſon, an old ſoldier, who underſtanding that Cromwell was drawn out towards him with the horſe and dragoons, made haſte to engage him, before the Earl of Mancheſter, with his foot, could march,

march up; as accordingly it happened at a place called Windſby-field near Horn-caſtle. In the firſt ſhock Cromwell's horſe was killed and fell upon him, and as he roſe, he was again knocked down by the gentleman that charged him, ſuppoſed to be Sir Ingram Hopton, though others ſay, captain Portington, who afterwards plainly told him, "That he aimed at his noſe when he hit his horſe on the head." He never was in more danger in his life; but with difficulty he got remounted upon a poor horſe in a ſoldier's hand, and charged the enemy with great reſolution. The encounter was very ſharp, but laſted not an hour before the Royaliſts were entirely routed by Mancheſter's troops about 1500 of them being killed, amongſt whom was the Lord Widdrington, Sir Ingram Hopton, and other perſons of quality. Very few were killed on the parliament ſide. The routed forces were purſued by the parliamentarians almoſt as far as Lincoln; in which purſuit ſeveral of them were killed and taken priſoners, and many horſes and arms taken. In purſuance of this victory, the Earl of Mancheſter marched directly to Lincoln, ſat down before it, and ſummoned it, and afterwards took it by ſtorm, with very inconſiderable loſs.

Is in great danger near Horn-caſtle.

After this, the Earl, with his Lieutenant-general Cromwell, advanced to re-inforce the ſiege of York, which was then inveſted by the Scotch General Leven, and the Lord Fairfax. Soon after, Prince Rupert arriving with about eighteen thouſand men, cauſed the beſiegers to raiſe the ſiege; who joining their forces, reſolved to watch his motions, and to fight him if they found occaſion: But a little to refreſh themſelves, and furniſh themſelves with proviſions which they wanted, they marched towards Tadcaſter,

Advances the ſiege York.

The Prince elevated with ſucceſs, and not thinking it enough to have relieved the city, if he did not deſeat the enemy, contrary to the advice of thoſe

1644 that were with him, he marched after them, and finding them at Marſton-Moor, forced them to a battle; in which the left wing of his army, commanded by himſelf, charging the parliament's right, ſo totally routed them, that the three parliament Generals, Leven, Fairfax, and Mancheſter quitted the field, and fled towards Cawood Caſtle. Here the Prince purſued his enemies too far, which loſt him the day. The three Generals being thus beaten out of the field, the honour of the day fell to Cromwell; for the left wing of the parliament's army, commanded by him, engaged the Prince's right, commanded by the Earl of Newcaſtle, who gained an advantageous piece of ground upon Marſton-Moor, and cauſed a battery to be erected upon it, from which captain Walton, Cromwell's ſiſter's ſon, was wounded by a ſhot in the knee: Hereupon Cromwell ordered two field pieces to be brought for annoying the enemy, appointing two regiments of foot to guard them; who marching for that end, were ſet upon by the foot of the Prince's right wing, that fired thick upon them from the ditches. Upon this both ſides ſeconding their foot, were wholly engaged, who before had only ſtood facing one another. The horſe on each ſide fought with the utmoſt bravery and courage; for having diſcharged their piſtols, and flung them at each others heads, they fell to it with their ſwords; but after a very obſtinate diſpute, the victory was obtained by Cromwell's brigade, Prince Rupert's right wing being totally routed and flying, and the parliament's horſe purſuing and killing many of them in their flight. And now the left wing of the Prince's army, who had been victors, came back to their former ground, being confident of victory, and utterly ignorant of what had befallen the right; but before they could put themſelves into any order, they were charged, and entirely routed by the reſerves of Cromwell's brigade.

Gains the battle of Marſton-moor.

Other

Other accounts are given of this battle, but all agree in aſcribing to Cromwell the glory of the action. Some ſay he was wounded in the right arm at the firſt charge, and went off to have it dreſſed; and returning to his poſt, found the army in that diſorder as is above related. Any other man, ſays F. Orleans, would have run with the ſtream, and followed ſuch examples, as he need not bluſh at, to ſeek his ſafety by flight. Cromwell rather choſe to do what good ſenſe could do, when ſeconded by valour. He preſently perceived that the conquerors were in as much confuſion as the conquered, thoſe who purſued obſerving no more order than thoſe that fled; but that there were ſome brigades of his army that ſtood firm, and had not as yet been engaged. He made no ſcruple to put himſelf at their head, and charging with theſe freſh troops, whom his own proweſs inſpired with new courage, he ſo vigorouſly attacked the enemy, whom victory had made careleſs of keeping their ranks, that this unexpected turn changed the ſcene at once, and entirely broke them.

Of the King's forces above four thouſand were ſlain, and fifteen hundred taken priſoners; among whom were Sir Charles Lucas, Major-general Porter, Major-general Tilyard, with about a hundred officers more. All the artillery, great numbers of arms, and a good quantity of ammunition and baggage, fell alſo into the parliamentarians hands; the Prince's own ſtandard, with the arms of the Palatinate, was likewiſe taken, with many others both horſe and foot. Of the parliamentarians not above three hundred were ſlain. This famous battle was fought on the ſecond day of July. Cromwell was greatly cried up for his bravery and conduct, and gained the name of *Ironſides*, from the impenetrable ſtrength of his troops, which could by no means be broken or divided. Prince Rupert and his confederates being thus defeated, they quarrelled among

1644 among themſelves, one reproaching the other for this miſcarriage; whereupon the Earl of Newcaſtle, and others of quality, departed out of the kingdom. The ſiege of York was now renewed, which city deſpairing of freſh ſuccours, was ſoon ſurrendered to the parliament by Sir Thomas Glemham, who had been left ſole governor of it.

CHAP. III.

From the battle of Marſton-Moor *to the battle of* Naſeby.

CROMWELL began now to be very much taken notice of, ſome admiring, and others envying his great ſucceſs, and dreading his aſpiring temper and enterpriſing genius. The Lord General Eſſex and the Scotch Commiſſioners were particularly jealous of him, ſo that they were once in conſultation, together with Mr. Hollis, Sir Philip Stapleton, Sir John Meyrick, and others, how to get rid of him, and ſent to ſerjeant Maynard and Whitelock about it; who being come, the Earl of Eſſex told them, that he had ſent for them to have their advice and counſel upon a matter of great importance to both kingdoms; whereupon, at his deſire, the Chancellor of Scotland ſpake to them, in the Scotch dialect, as follows:

Earl of Eſſex, and Scotch Commiſſioners jealous of Cromwell.

Chancellor Lowden's ſpeech againſt him.

"Mr. Maynard and Mr. Whitelock, I can aſſure you of the great opinion, both my brethren and ſelf have of your worth and abilities, elſe we ſhould not have deſired this meeting with you: And ſince it is his excellency's pleaſure, that I ſhould acquaint you with the matter upon whilk your counſel is deſir'd I ſhall obey his command, and briefly recite the buſineſs to you.

"You

"You ken vary weele, that lieutenant-general Cromwell is no friend of ours; and ſince the advance of our army into England, he has uſed all under-hand and cunning means to tak off from our honour, and merit of this kingdom, an evil requital of our hazards and ſervices; but ſo it is, and we are nevertheleſs fully ſatisfy'd of the affections and gratitude of the gude people of the nation in general.

"It is thought requiſite for us, and for carrying on the cauſe of the twa kingdoms, that this obſtacle or remora be removed out of the way, whom we foreſee will be no ſmall impediment to us in the gude deſign we have undertaken.

"He not only is no friend to us and the government of our church, but he is alſo no well-willer to his excellency, whom you and we have all cauſe to love and honour; and if he be permitted to go on this way, it may, I fear, endanger the whole buſineſs; therefore we are to adviſe of ſome courſe to be taken for prevention of this miſchief.

"You ken vary weele the accord betwixt the twa nations, and the union by the Solemn League and Covenant; and if any be an incendiary between the twa nations, how he is to be proceeded againſt. Now the matter is, wherein we deſire your opinions, what you tak the meaning of the word incendiary to be, and whether the lieutenant-general be not ſick an incendiary, as is meant hereby; and whilk way wudt be beſt to tak to proceed againſt him, if he be proved ſick an incendiary, that we may clepe his wings from ſoaring to the prejudice of our cauſe.

"Now you may ken, that by our law in Scotland, we clepe him an incendiary wha kindleth coals of contention and raiſeth differences in the ſtate, to the public damage; and he is *tanquam publicus hoſtis patriæ*. Whether your law be the ſame or not, you ken beſt, who are mickle learned therein, and therefore we deſire your judgments in theſe points."

To

To this Mr. Whitelock anſwer'd, "that the ſenſe of the word incendiary, was the ſame here as in Scotland; but whether lieutenant-general Cromwell be ſuch an incendiary muſt be proved either by his words or actions: That he looked upon him to be a gentleman of quick and ſubtile parts, and who had a great intereſt in both houſes of parliament, and that it would be needfull to collect ſuch particular paſſages concerning him, as might be ſufficient to prove him an incendiary, before they could expect the parliament ſhould proceed againſt him." Mr. Hollis, Sir Philip Stapleton, and ſome others, gave an account of ſome particular paſſages and words of Cromwell's, and ſaid, that he had not that intereſt in the parliament as was ſuppoſed; and they would willingly have been upon the accuſation of him; but the Scotch Commiſſioners were not ſo ready to join with them in it, and ſo the Lieutenant-general eſcaped.

CROMWELL was now alſo very much dreaded by the King's party. His Majeſty being at Oxford, was willing to have the particular advice of that known ſtateſman Archbiſhop Williams; and ſo wrote to him at Aberconway in Wales, to come to him. The Archbiſhop accordingly waiting on the King, adviſed him by all means to come to an agreement with the parliament; for ſince the Scots were come into England in ſuch numerous armies, and the Engliſh of the parliament's party, in theſe two laſt years, had acquired a military knowledge, it would in all appearance, be impoſſible for the King long to reſiſt their forces. But above all, he warned him, to have a care of Cromwell, declaring him to be the moſt dangerous enemy the King had; and therefore humbly moved, that either he would win him over to his ſide by promiſes of fair treatment, or catch him by ſome ſtratagem, and cut him ſhort. This is ſaid to have made ſuch an impreſſion on the king that he was heard to ſay, "I would

Archbiſhop Williams warns the King of him.

ſome

ſome would do me the good ſervice to bring Cromwell to me alive or dead."

About four months after the fight at Marſton-Moor, happened the ſecond battle of Newbury, where Cromwell is ſaid to have endangered the King's perſon, had not the Earl of Cleveland interpoſed, and bore off the purſuit. This battle was the occaſion of an irreconcilable breach between him and the Earl of Mancheſter. Cromwell accuſed the Earl of cowardly betraying the parliament, for that he might very eaſily have defeated the King's army, when he drew off his cannon, if he would have ſuffered him with his own brigade to have charged them in their retreat; but that the Earl obſtinately oppoſed all advice and importunity, giving no other reaſon, than "That if he did overthrow the King's army, the King would always have another to keep up the war; but if his army ſhould be overthrown at that nice juncture, they ſhould be all rebels and traytors, and executed and forfeited by the law." This laſt expreſſion was heinouſly taken by the parliament, as if the Earl believed the law was againſt them, after they had ſo often declared, that the law was on their ſide. The Earl acknowledged, that he had in effect ſaid, "That they would be treated as traitors if their army was defeated, when he diſliked the Lieutenant-general's advice, in expoſing the army to an unſeaſonable hazard." And then recriminating upon his adverſary, ſaid, "That at another time, Cromwell freely diſcourſing with him of the ſtate of the kingdom, and propoſing an expedient, the Earl anſwered, that the parliament would never approve it; to which Cromwell immediately reply'd, 'My Lord, if you will ſtick firm to honeſt men, you will find an army at your command, that will give the law to King and Parliament;' which diſcourſe, he ſaid, made a great impreſſion upon him; and finding him a man of very deep deſigns, he was the more careful to preſerve an army, which he believed ſtill faithful

Difference between him and the Earl of Mancheſter.

to the parliament." Theſe matters were never thoroughly examined, though the animoſities encreaſed, and the parties on both ſides openly appeared againſt each other, to the dividing of the city, as well as the parliament.

A mighty party in the parliament began now to be diſſatisfied with their old Generals, thinking them too much inclined to a peace with the King, and too great favourers of the Preſbyterian party. Hereupon they are for having the army new modelled; and that their old friends might be the more civilly diſmiſſed from their military poſts, they endeavour to procure an ordinance, for incapacitating all members of parliament for ſuch poſts. Cromwell was a great promoter of this deſign, and after ſome had led the way, made a ſpeech in the Houſe for that purpoſe, declaring, "That there were many things upon which he never reflected before, yet upon re-conſideration, he could not but own that all was very true; and till there was a perfect reformation in thoſe particulars recommended to them, nothing they took in hand would proſper: That the parliament had done wiſely in the beginning of the war, to engage many of their members in the moſt dangerous parts of it, that the nation might ſee they deſigned not to embark others in perils, whilſt themſelves ſat ſecurely out of gunſhot, but would march with them where the danger moſt threatened; and thoſe honourable perſons, who had thus expoſed themſelves, had merited ſo much of their country, that their memories would be held in perpetual veneration; and whatever ſhould be well done after them, would be imputed to their example. But now God had ſo bleſſed their army, that there had grown up with it many excellent officers, who were fitter for much greater charges than they now enjoyed; therefore he deſired them not to be terrified with an imagination, that they ſhould want able men to fill the greateſt vacancy;

His ſpeech in parliament for the ſelf-denying ordinance.

for

for beſides that it was not good to put ſo much truſt in any arm of fleſh, as to think ſuch a cauſe as this depended upon any one man, he aſſured them, that they had officers in their army, who were fit to be Generals in any enterprize in Chriſtendom." He added, "He thought nothing ſo neceſſary as to vindicate the parliament from partiality towards their own members; and proffered to lay down his own commiſſion in the army, and deſired, that an ordinance might be prepared, to make it unlawful for any member of either Houſe to hold any office in the army, or any place in the ſtate;" and ſo concluded with an enlargement upon the vices and corruptions crept into the army, and freely told them, "That till the whole army were new modelled, and brought under ſtricter diſcipline, they muſt not expect any remarkable ſucceſs in any undertaking." In concluſion, a committee was appointed to prepare an ordinance for the excluſion of all members from the fore-mentioned truſts; which took up much time, and was long debated, but in the end paſſed, and was called the *ſelf-denying ordinance.*

He joins Waller, and writes to the parliament.

Some time before, Cromwell had orders from the houſe to march with all ſpeed into the weſt, to join Sir William Waller; which he accordingly did, and being joined they beat up Goring's quarters, who thereupon fled to Exeter. It ſeems there had been ſome behaviour in Cromwell's regiment, that gave offence to the parliament; for he now ſent a letter to the Houſe, informing them, "That ſince his coming to his regiment, their carriage had been *obedient*, *reſpective*, and *valiant*; a good teſtimony whereof they gave in the late defeat of Long's regiment: That they were ſorry for their former mutinous carriage, and deſired him to ſend their moſt humble petition to both Houſes, *That they might again be received into their favour, and their former offence fully pardoned; promiſing a valiant teſtimony of their fu-*

ture ſervice: Which petition was well accepted by the parliament. After this, he marched to Cerne in Dorſetſhire, where he was joined by the Colonels Holborn and Popham. The enemy coming within three miles of them undiſcovered, Cromwell drew into the field there, with deſign to fight them, tho' ſuperior to him in number; which they perceiving, drew off; and Cromwell was farther reinforced by the regiments of Norton and Cook, &c.

1645. The army new modelled.

Upon the paſſing of the *ſelf-denying ordinance*, the army, which had been much diminiſhed by ſickneſs, and a late defeat in the weſt, was ordered to be recruited to one-and-twenty thouſand men, namely, fourteen thouſand foot, ſix thouſand horſe, and one thouſand dragoons; and Sir Thomas Fairfax was commiſſioned General. They who were removed from their commands in the army by this ordinance, were the Earl of Eſſex, the Earl of Mancheſter, the Earl of Denbigh, the Earl of Warwick, Sir William Waller, Lord Gray of Groby, Major-General Maſſy, &c. Cromwell was likewiſe to have loſt his command, and came to Windſor to take leave of the new General; but ſuch intereſt had been made in the committee of both kingdoms at Weſtminſter, or they were ſo ſenſible of his rare talent for war, that they had ſent orders to General Fairfax to detach a party of horſe to lie between Oxford and Worceſter, for intercepting the correſpondence between the King and Prince Rupert, and particularly recommended Lieutenant-general Cromwell for that ſervice; who went away with a good party of horſe and dragoons, and defeated a brigade of the King's horſe under the Earl of Northampton and Goring, at Iſlip-bridge, killed ſeveral, and took five hundred horſe, and two hundred priſoners, whereof ſeveral were officers and perſons of quality, as alſo the Queen's ſtandard, beſides many other trophies of honour.

Cromwell's ſucceſs at Iſlip-bridge.

He

He purſued the routed remnant to Bletchington-houſe, where colonel Windebank commanded; who being ſummoned by victorious Cromwell, and perſuaded by his beautiful young bride, and the ladies that came to viſit her, ſurrendered the place, with all the arms and ammunition; for which he was ſhot to death at Oxford, by ſentence of a council of war. He takes Bletchington-houſe.

About the ſame time alſo, Cromwell forced Sir William Vaughan and lieutenant-colonel Littleton, with three hundred and fifty men, into Bampton-Buſh, where he took them both, and two hundred of their men priſoners, with their arms, and ſent colonel Fiennes after another party, who took a hundred and fifty horſe, three colonels, and forty common ſoldiers priſoners, with their arms. Being afterwards re-inforced by about five hundred foot from colonel Brown's garriſon at Abington, Cromwell attempted the reducing of Faringdon-houſe, and ſtormed it; but it was ſo gallantly defended by Sir George Liſle, that he was forced to draw off, having loſt fifty of his men; and in his retreat he was attacked by a party of lieutenant Goring's horſe, lately come from the ſiege of Taunton, who got from him three colours, and took major Bethel priſoner. His further ſucceſs. He is repulſed at Faringdon-houſe.

It was now ordered by both houſes that lieutenant-general Cromwell ſhould be diſpenſed with for his perſonal attendance in the houſe, and continue his ſervice and command in the army, for forty days longer, notwithſtanding the late ordinance. This, ſays Whitelock, was much ſpoken againſt by Eſſex's party, as a breach of that ordinance, and a diſcovery of the intention to continue whom they pleaſed, and to remove the others from commands, notwithſtanding their former ſelf-denying pretences.

The lord-general Fairfax began his march in order to relieve Taunton. But the committee of both

both kingdoms, underſtanding that prince Rupert was advancing towards Oxford, ordered him to ſtop his march, and to ſend only a party of about three thouſand foot, and fifteen hundred horſe to Taunton, whilſt he, with the reſt of his army, marched back to join Cromwell and Brown, that they might attend the king's motions with their united forces. The king being joined by prince Rupert, march'd into Worceſterſhire, and deſigned to relieve Cheſter, which had been a great while beſieged by the parliament's forces under Sir William Brereton; who, when the king was come within twenty miles of Cheſter, raiſed the ſiege, and returned into Lancaſhire. Upon this the king diverted his courſe towards Leiceſter, and coming before the place, took it by ſtorm.

Is joined by Fairfax.

In the mean time the lords and commons agreed with the committee of both kingdoms that general Fairfaix ſhould inveſt Oxford, that important head-quarter of the king. Accordingly the general brought up his army near Oxford, and laid ſiege to it, having his own quarters at Marſton, Cromwell at Wileham, and Brown at Wolvercott. After fifteen days ſpent without action, the parliament being ſtartled at the loſs of Leiceſter, ſent expreſs orders to Fairfax to march away with his army; which he accordingly did on the ninth of June.

The king was marching from Leiceſter, with deſign to relieve Oxford; but hearing the ſiege was raiſed, he returned towards Northampton, cauſing great terror to the aſſociated parts. Cromwell before the breaking up the ſiege, had been called from thence to the iſle of Ely, to ſupport the aſſociation, and was ſhortly to attend his place in parliament, according to the late ordinance: But upon a reſolution of the council of war, the general wrote to them, deſiring them to diſpenſe with Cromwell's abſence from the houſe, and to appoint him lieutenant-general of the horſe. The parliament being

being ſenſible of his great uſefulneſs in the field, readily complied with this requeſt, and accordingly commiſſioned him lieutenant-general of horſe to the whole army. Hereupon Cromwell being recruited with ſix hundred horſe and dragoons, came out of the aſſociated parts, and joined with Fairfax and his main army at Gilſborough. Whitelock ſays, he now began to increaſe in the favour of the people and of the army, and to grow great, even to the envy of many.

Is made lieutenant-general of the horſe, notwithſtanding the ſelf-denying ordinance.

The king having tarried a little at Borough-Hill, drew off from thence towards Harborough, and deſigned to march to Pomfret, thinking if he were followed by the parliament's forces, he ſhould fight with greater advantage northward. But Ireton, by Cromwell's advice, being ſent out with a flying party of horſe, fell upon a party of the king's rear, quarter'd in Naſeby town, and took many priſoners, ſome of prince Rupert's life-guard, and Langdale's brigade; which gave ſuch an alarm to the whole royal army, that the king at mid-night left his own quarters, and for ſecurity haſtened to Harborough, where the van of his army lay. Here calling up prince Rupert, he ſummoned a council of war, in which it was reſolved (chiefly through the prince's eagerneſs, old commanders being much againſt it) to give the enemy battle; and ſince Fairfax had been ſo forward, they would no longer ſtay for him, but ſeek him out. Accordingly being come near Naſeby, there they found him; and both armies being drawn up in battalia, faced each other. Prince Rupert and prince Maurice commanded the right wing of the royal army, Sir Marmaduke Langdale the left, and the king himſelf the main body; the earl of Lindſey and Jacob lord Aſtley, the right hand reſerve, and the lord Bard and Sir George Liſle, the left reſerve. The right wing of the parliament's army was led by lieutenant-general Cromwell, the left by colonel Ireton,

Ireton, the main body by general Fairfax and major-general Skippon, who ſought ſtoutly, tho' ſorely wounded in the beginning of the fight; and the reſerves were brought up by Rainſborough, Hammond and Pride. The place of action was a large fallow field, on the north-weſt ſide of Naſeby, above a mile broad; which ſpace of ground was wholly taken up by the two armies.

The battle of Naſeby.

All things being diſpoſed, on June 14. at ten in the morning, the battle began with more than civil rage; the royaliſts word being *God and queen Mary*, and the others, *God with us*. Prince Rupert gave the firſt charge, and engaged the parliament's left wing with great reſolution. Ireton made gallant reſiſtance, but was forced at laſt to give ground, his horſe being ſhot under him, and himſelf run through the thigh with a pike, and into the face with a halbert, and taken priſoner, till upon the turn of the battle he regained his liberty. The prince chaſed the enemy almoſt to Naſeby town, and in his return ſummoned the train, and viſited the carriages, where was good plunder; but here, as in the battle of Marſton-Moor, his long ſtay ſo far from the main body was no ſmall prejudice to the king's army.

For Cromwell in the mean time charged furiouſly on the king's left wing, and that with good ſucceſs, forcing them from the body, and proſecuting the advantage, quite broke them, and their reſerve: After which, joining with Fairfax, he charged the king's foot, who had beaten the parliament's, and got poſſeſſion of their ordnance, and thought themſelves ſure of the victory; but being now in confuſion, and having no horſe to ſupport them, they were eaſily overborn by Fairfax and Cromwell. By this time the king was joined by prince Rupert, returned from his fatal ſucceſs; but the horſe could never be brought to rally themſelves again in order, or to charge the enemy: Upon which the lord Clarendon ſays, That this difference was obſerved all along in the diſci-

pline

pline of the king's troops, and of thoſe under Fairfax and Cromwell, (it having never been remarkable under Eſſex or Waller, but only under them) That though the king's troops prevailed in the charge, and routed thoſe they charged, they ſeldom rallied themſelves again in order, nor could be brought to make a ſecond charge again the ſame day; which was the reaſon that they had not an entire victory at Edge-Hill; whereas the troops under Fairfax and Cromwell, if they prevailed, or tho' they were beaten and routed, preſently rallied again, and ſtood in good order, till they received further directions. In fine, with all that the king and prince could do, they could not rally their broken troops, which ſtood in ſufficient numbers upon the place; ſo that they were forced at laſt to quit the field, leaving a compleat victory to the parliament's party, who purſued them within two miles of Leiceſter; and the king finding the purſuit ſo hot, fled from thence to Aſhby-de-la-zouch, and then to Litchfield, and ſo for a ſafer retreat into Wales.

Good diſcipline of the troops under him and Fairfax.

Thus ended the famous battle of Naſeby, in which the wonderful ſucceſs of the parliament party was chiefly owing to Cromwell's valour and good conduct, who flew like lightning from one part of the army to the other, and broke thro' the enemy's ſquadrons with ſuch rapidity, that nothing either could or durſt ſtop him. 'Tis ſaid, that in this action, a commander of the king's knowing Cromwell, advanced briſkly from the head of his troops, to exchange a ſingle bullet with him, and was with equal bravery encountered by him, both ſides forbearing to come in, till their piſtols being diſcharged, the cavalier with a flaunting back blow of a broad ſword, chanced to cut the ribbon that tied Cromwell's murrion, and with a draw threw it off his head; and now juſt going to repeat his ſtroke, Cromwell's party came in and reſcued him; and one of them alighting, threw up his head-

Victory at Naſeby owing to his valour

piece into his ſaddle, which he haſtily catching, clapt it on the wrong way, and ſo bravely fought with it the reſt of the day, which proved ſo very fortunate on his ſide.

The king's loſs in this battle was irreparable; for beſides that there were ſlain above a hundred and fifty officers, and gentlemen of quality, moſt of his foot were taken priſoners, with all his cannon and baggage, eight thouſand arms and other rich booty; among which was alſo his majeſty's own cabinet, where were repoſited his moſt ſecret papers, and letters between him and his queen, which ſhewed how contrary his counſels with her were to thoſe he declared to the kingdom; for in one of them he declares his intention, "to make peace with the Iriſh, and to have forty thouſand of them over into England, to proſecute the war here;" and in another he complains, "That he could not prevail on his mongrel parliament at Oxford, to vote that the two houſes at Weſtminſter were not a lawful parliament;" ſo little thanks, as one obſerves who was no enemy to his majeſty, had theſe noble lords and gentlemen, for expoſing their lives and fortunes in defence of the king in his adverſity; what then might they expect, if he ſhould prevail by conqueſt? In thoſe letters alſo he tells the queen, "That he would not make a peace with the rebels [the parliament] without her approbation, nor go one jot from the paper ſhe ſent him: That in the treaty at Uxbridge, he did not poſitively own the parliament, it being otherwiſe to be conſtrued, tho' they were ſo ſimple as not to find it out; and that it was recorded in the notes of the king's council, That he did not acknowledge them a parliament." Theſe and many other papers relating to the publick, were printed with obſervations, and kept upon record, by order of the two houſes, who alſo made a publick declaration of them, ſhewing what the

1645

The king's cabinet with his letters and papers taken.

Coke.

nobility

nobility and gentry, who followed the king, were to expect.

CHAP. IV.

From the battle of Naſeby *to the concluſion of the firſt civil war.*

THE battle of Naſeby was truly a deciding battle; for from this grand period, the king's affairs became deſperate, and his whole party began to moulder away, and moſt ſenſibly to decline every where. The parliament's army had no ſooner gained this wonderful advantage but like a torrent they ſoon overflowed the whole kingdom, bearing down all before them. Leiceſter was immediately regained without any conſiderable oppoſition. From thence they marched to the relief of Taunton, which being beſieged by Goring's army, had made a wonderful reſiſtance under the command of the valiant Blake. Upon the approach of the parliament's forces, Goring drew off his army towards Langport; and being maſter of the ſeveral paſſes on the river, hoped to have declined fighting, and ſecured his retreat towards Bridgewater: But the others drew down their ordnance with ſuch advantage, that whilſt they did great execution on Goring's army, their foot reſolutely gained the paſs, and the horſe advanced over; when they ſo bravely engaged the enemy, that they ſoon put them to flight, charging them almoſt to Bridgewater. Cromwell in this action ſhewed much prudence as well as courage; for he would not ſuffer part of the horſe to purſue the enemy, till they

1645

Cromwell's conduct in the battle of Langport.

were all come up together; and then himſelf leading them on, performed the work with ſuch ſucceſs, that he took almoſt all their foot and ordnance.

Bridgewater taken.

After this victory, 'twas reſolved, in a council of war, to ſtorm the ſtrong garriſon of Bridgewater. Accordingly they began the aſſault the 22d of July, and forced a ſurrender the very next day. The taking of this place was a very great ſervice to the parliament; for thereby a line of garriſons was drawn over the country from the Severn to the ſouth coaſts, by Bridgewater, Taunton, Lime and Langport; whereby the counties of Devon and Cornwall, then wholly at the king's devotion, except Plymouth, were in a manner blocked up from all intercourſe with the eaſtern parts.

The mercileſs rapines and violence practiſed by the royaliſts in the weſtern parts had occaſioned the riſing of a third kind of army, which ſuddenly ſtarting up in divers counties, aſſembled to the number of five or ſix thouſand of the middle ſort of men. Theſe ſoon had the name of *Club-Men*, and were encouraged by ſeveral gentlemen of the country, who entertained particular hopes from this inſurrection. The motto of their colours was,

Cromwell ſuppreſſes the club-men.

If you offer to plunder or take our cattle,
Be aſſur'd we will bid you battle.

This army of Club-Men for ſome time became very formidable to both parties, each of them endeavouring to gain them over to themſelves. But having for ſome months ſtood upon their own defence, and moleſted both armies, they were at laſt very ſeaſonably ſuppreſſed and diſperſed by the parliament forces under lieutenant-general Cromwell; who, together with Fairfax, daily gained ground in thoſe parts.

Briſtol

Briſtol was a place of very great importance, which prince Rupert, with about five thouſand horſe and foot, held for the King. It was now therefore thought requiſite to beſiege it for the parliament, and accordingly the army was drawn up towards it. The general being come before it, ſummoned prince Rupert to deliver up the town; but upon his refuſal, it was adviſed by Cromwell and ſome other chief officers to ſtorm part of it: Which accordingly was executed with ſo much fury, that the prince thought not fit to run the hazard of a ſecond aſſault, but immediately ſurrendered that great and well fortified city to the parliament general; whereby the King loſt all his chief magazines and warlike proviſions, and conſequently in a ſhort time South-Wales, and all the weſt of England. Upon this his Majeſty wrote a ſharp letter to prince Rupert, in which he ſays, "I muſt remember you of yours of the 12th of Auguſt, whereby you aſſured me, That if no mutiny happened, you would keep Briſtol for four months; Did you keep it four days? Was there any thing like a mutiny? My concluſion is, to deſire you to ſeek your ſubſiſtence, until it ſhall pleaſe God to determine of my condition, ſome where beyond ſeas; to which end I ſend you herewith a paſs, &c." Aſſiſts at the ſiege of Briſtol.

Fairfax and Cromwell ſent letters to the parliament, relating the particulars of the ſiege of Briſtol, and in Cromwell's there was this paſſage: "It may be thought that ſome praiſes are due to thoſe gallant men, of whoſe valour ſo much mention is made: Their humble ſuit to you, and all that have an intereſt in this bleſſing, is, that in remembrance of God's praiſes, they may be forgotten. It is their joy that they are inſtruments to God's glory, and their country's good: It's their honour that God vouchſafes to uſe them. Sir, they that have been employed in this ſervice, know, That faith and prayers obtained this city for you." Writes to the parliament.

Briſtol

Briſtol being thus reduced, Cromwell preſently takes with him a brigade of four regiments, and marches to the ſtrong caſtle of the Devizes, whoſe natural ſtrength was much improved by the ingenuity of its governor, Sir Charles Lloyd, who looking upon it to be almoſt impregnable, returned no other anſwer to Cromwell's firſt ſummons, but *Win it and wear it.* But as if nothing could be a ſufficient defence againſt this victorious commander, whoſe very name began now to ſtrike terror to his enemies, the governor was ſoon brought to terms, and forced to deliver up the place to him.

Takes the caſtle of the Devizes.

Reduces Wincheſter.

After this, Cromwell haſtens to Wincheſter, and in his march diſarms and diſperſes the Hampſhire club-men thereabouts. Being come before the town, he found it fortified; but after a ſhort diſpute, he fired the gate, and his men entered. This done, he ſummoned the caſtle; which not ſurendering, he planted ſix guns, and after firing them round, ſent a ſecond ſummons for a treaty, which they alſo refuſed. Upon this, he made a breach with two hundred ſhot, and then the governor, the Lord Ogle, thought fit to beat a parley, which was granted; and colonel Hammond and major Harriſon for Cromwell, agreed upon articles for delivering up the caſtle into the hands of the parliament. Here an inſtance is given of Cromwell's faithfulneſs in his punctual obſervance of articles; for it is ſaid, that being informed, that ſome of his men had been faulty in this reſpect, he cauſed one of them to be hanged to the terror of others, and ſent the reſt to Oxford, that the governor, Sir Thomas Glemham, might puniſh them as he thought fit; who is ſaid with generous acknowledgments to return them to Cromwell again.

Storms and takes Baſing-houſe.

His next attempt was upon Baſing-houſe, a very ſtrong place. It was the manſion of the marquis of Wincheſter, a Papiſt, ſtanding on a riſing ground, and encompaſſed with a brick rampart lined with earth,

earth, having a deep dry ditch ſurrounding it. Here the marquis ſtood upon his guard, aſſiſted at firſt only with his own family and a hundred muſqueteers from Oxford; but recruited afterwards by the king from time to time, as there was occaſion. This garriſon had been often aſſaulted, but in vain; firſt by colonel Norton and colonel Harvey; next, by Sir William Waller with ſeven thouſand horſe and foot; who, though many then called him William the Conqueror, did little more than increaſe the courage of the beſieged, who made many furious ſallies upon him. Thus the place ſtood for ſome years out-braving all attempts, till the valiant Cromwell endeavoured the reducing of it, which he very ſoon effected; for having ſeen the lord Ogle, the late governor of Wincheſter, march out according to articles, and ſettled the affairs of that garriſon for the parliament, he the next day marched for Baſing; where being arrived, after planting the batteries, and ſettling the ſeveral poſts for a ſtorm, his men fell on with great reſolution. Colonel Pickering ſtormed the new houſe, and paſſing through, got the gate of the old houſe; whereupon they beat a parley, which the parliament ſoldiers would not regard. In the mean time, colonel Montague's and Sir Hardreſs Waller's regiments recovered the ſtrongeſt work, and beat the enemy from a whole culverin. Then they drew their ladders after them, and got over another work, and the houſe-wall, before they could enter. Thus was the place reduced with very little loſs on the parliament's ſide. Seventy-four of the royaliſts were ſlain, among whom were ſome officers of quality, divers of them Papiſts. Two hundred were taken priſoners, among whom was the marquis himſelf, Sir Robert Peak, and ſeveral other officers, whom Cromwell ſent up to the parliament. They took about ten pieces of ordnance, with a good quantity of ammunition and proviſions, and there was rich

pillage

pillage for the ſoldiers, of money, jewels, houſhold-ſtuff. &c. For theſe important ſervices, the Houſe ordered a letter of thanks to be drawn up to the lieutenant-general.

Gains Langford-houſe.

The next place Cromwell viſited, was Langford-houſe near Saliſbury; but Sir Bartholomew Pell having had information of what he had done at Baſing, and expecting no better ſucceſs, ſubmitted at the firſt ſummons.

Marches towards Exeter.

From hence he marched towards the main body of the army, which was then moving towards Exeter, with a deſign to lay ſiege to it: Where being arrived, he advanced farther weſtward towards the enemy, and at Bovy-Tracy fought the brigade commanded by the lord Wentworth, taking four hundred horſe, and about a hundred foot, priſoners, with ſix ſtandards, one of which was the King's.

Dartmouth taken by ſtorm; and the lord Hopton defeated.

The deſign upon Exeter being for the preſent laid aſide, the army under Fairfax and Cromwell appeared before Dartmouth, and took it by ſtorm; which being done, they encountered the lord Hopton at Torrington, and gave him an abſolute defeat; and then purſued the only remains of a royal army into Cornwall, where prince Charles had his own regiment, and other Corniſh troops, which compoſed a body of about five thouſand horſe, and one thouſand foot: But not able to reſiſt the multitudes that the parliamentarians were pouring upon him, he embarked with ſeveral lords and gentlemen, and found refuge in the iſle of Scilly. His troops were left under the command of the lord Hopton, who was ſo preſſed upon by the parliament's forces, that he was obliged to diſband on the 14th of March; ſoon after which Exeter was ſurrendered to the parliament. And now lieutenant-general Cromwell came up to London from the general, to adviſe about the future motion of the army; and taking his place in the parliament, received the hearty

thanks

thanks of the Houſe for his great and faithful ſervices.

Fairfax and Cromwell having thus ſcowered the weſt, and only Newark remaining in the north, the king's affairs were now in a very low and deſperate condition. The royaliſts in Oxford had indeed ſtill ſome little hopes from a party commanded by the lord Aſtley, which were the only forces in the field for the king; but theſe hopes ſoon vaniſhed; for being encountered by colonel Morgan near Stow-on-the-Would, he was entirely defeated, himſelf and almoſt all his men being taken priſoners. Aſtley was ſo ſenſible of the conſequence of this defeat, that when he was taken, he ſaid to one of the parliament-officers, "You have now done your work and may go to play, unleſs you will fall out among yourſelves."

Lord Aſtley routed and taken priſoner.

The parliament army, flushed with irreſiſtible ſucceſs, was now marching to beſiege Oxford, the king's head quarters and place of his reſidence; who in this extremity reſolved to throw himſelf into the hands of the Scotch army, then lying before Newark. He was adviſed to do this by Monſieur Montrevil, the French ambaſſador, who was then in the Scotch quarters; and the rather encouraged to it, becauſe the animoſities between the Engliſh parliament and the Scots, were now grown very high, the latter complaining againſt the former, for their delays in ſettling the Preſbyterian government of the church according to the Covenant; and for with-holding their pay. In purſuance of this reſolution, before the ſiege of Oxford could be formed, the king eſcaped from thence on the 27th of April. He went away in diſguiſe, accompanied only by Dr. Hudſon, and Mr. Aſhburnham, and riding as ſervant to the latter, with a cloak-bag behind him. They went to Henly, Brentford, and Harrow-on-the-Hill; thence towards St. Albans, making their way to Harborough, where they ex-

1646.

King eſcapes from Oxford to the Scotch army.

pected Monſieur Montrevil, who not being there as he had appointed, the king went to Stamford, thence to Downham, and ſo to Southam; where finding the French agent, he ſent to general Leven, and was conducted by a troop of horſe to lieutenant-general Leſlyes quarters. Oxford being cloſe blocked up, ſurrendered on the 22d of June, and the few remaining garriſons ſoon after, viz. Worceſter, Wallingford, Pendennis-caſtle, and Ragland-caſtle. The parliament being informed of the king's eſcape from Oxford, and arrival in the Scotch army, were very much ſtartled at it, and ſent an order to their commiſſioners to demand him of them; requiring alſo their army to advance, in order to hinder a conjunction of the king's party with the Scots, being very jealous of his making terms with them: But upon their ſurrendering Newark to the Engliſh, which the king had ordered to be delivered up to them, and general Leven's forbidding his forces to have any communication with the king's party, they began to be pretty well ſatisfied for the preſent; and ſo the Scots, having got the king in their poſſeſſion, marched with him to Newcaſtle, where he received the parliament's propoſitions for peace; which he not agreeing to, they conſult how to take him out of the hands of the Scots, to ſend them out of England, and to bring him up into ſafer cuſtody. In order to this, they thought it neceſſary to reckon with the Scots, who offered to accept of a ſum in groſs, for full diſcharge of their arrears, to be agreed on by the commiſſioners. Theſe concluded on four hundred thouſand pounds, one Moiety of which to be paid before their going home, and the other within ſtated terms. The delievering up of the king was a tacit condition of this agreement; and accordingly, the Scots having received two hundred thouſand pounds, which was ſent down to them, delievered the king, after he had been with them about nine months, into the hands of the parliament's commiſſioners, who conducted him to Holmby-

Oxford and all other places ſubmit to the parliament.

King delivered up to the Engliſh.

Holmby-houſe in Northamptonſhire. Upon this Mr. Coke has theſe reflexions: "Thus this prince, who before had ſhifted the worthy members of parliament from one priſon to another, that they might have no benefit of their Habeas-Corpus, is himſelf ſhifted a priſoner from one place to another, without any hope of an Habeas-Corpus: He that before, by his abſolute will and pleaſure, would without any law ſeize his ſubjects goods, and commit them to priſon, cannot now enjoy his own eſtate in his own houſe: He that before arbitrarily raiſed ſhip-money, has not now one ſhip to command."

CHAP. V.

From the concluſion of the firſt and long civil war, to the king's ſeizure at Holmby *by the army.*

THE king's party being ſubdued by the parliament, who had alſo got him into their hands, and the Scots having quietly left the kingdom, and ſo the long civil war between the king and the parliament, which had been maintained at the expence of ſo much blood and treaſure, being entirely ended, the victors began now to quarrel amongſt themſelves; and the differences and diſſenſions in the parliament and army, and chiefly between thoſe two bodies, the civil and military powers, occaſioned a great deal of uneaſineſs and trouble to the nation. The foundation of all this, as Ludlow tells us, were the high conteſts between the Preſbyterian and Independent parties, the one not enduring any ſuperior, nor the other any equal. The Preſbyterians, ſays he, graſped at the whole power, proceeding with equal bitterneſs againſt all other ſects, as againſt the epiſcopal party; and finding themſelves ſuperior in both houſes, little doubted of being able to reform the army, and new-model it

Differences ariſe between the parliament and army.

again; which, without doubt, they would have attempted, had not the death of the earl of Eſſex, who deceaſed about this time, prevented them. This party prevailed very much in the city, ſo that an addreſs was preſented to the parliament from the mayor and common-council, wherein after acknowledging the care of the two houſes in the reformation of the church, &c. they deſired, that ſuch aſſemblies as were privately held to introduce new ſects, might be ſuppreſſed, and that thoſe who were diſtinguiſhed by the name of *Independents* might be removed from all employments civil and military. Ludlow farther tells us, "the party in the houſe that were for betraying the cauſe of their country, became encouragers of ſuch petitioners as came to them from the city of London, and other places, for a ſpeedy peace, and to ſuppreſs ſectaries: The army, both officers and ſoldiers, were complained againſt, as holding erroneous and ſchiſmatical doctrines; and for taking upon them to preach and expound the ſcripture, not being learned nor ordained." And as Cromwell eſpouſed the Independent party, the parliament was particularly jealous of him, and was for taking meaſures to diſmiſs him, and his chief partizans, from their military poſts. Cromwell was no leſs jealous of them, and being aware of what they deſigned, reſolved to be even with them. Ludlow tells us, that as he was walking with him one morning in Sir Robert Cotton's garden, he inveighed bitterly againſt the parliament, and ſaid familiarly to him, "If thy father were alive, he would let ſome of them hear what they deſerve;" adding farther, "That it was a miſerable thing to ſerve a parliament, to whom let a man be never ſo faithful, if one pragmatical fellow amongſt them riſe up and aſperſe him, he ſhall never wipe it off; whereas, when one ſerves under a general, he

The parliament jealous of Cromwell, and he of them.

he may do as much ſervice, and yet be free from all blame and envy.

Accordingly, from this time Cromwell, to ſecure himſelf, and prevent the deſigns of the Preſbyterians, made a ſtrong party for military power, for which he had now a fair opportunity offered him: For the Preſbyterian party in parliament, knowing that the army was moſtly inclined to the Independents, were earneſtly deſirous to break it; and the better to facilitate this deſign, under the pretence of leſſening their great charge, they reſolved on the diſbanding of ſome troops, and tranſporting others for the ſervice of Ireland. Cromwell having timely notice of this reſolution, he, together with Ireton, inſinuated to the ſoldiers, that the parliament intended to diſband them without paying them their arrears, or elſe to ſend them into Ireland to die of ſickneſs and famine. Upon this, the ſoldiers broke out into reviling language againſt the parliament; and when the orders for diſbanding ſome, and tranſporting others, as before-mentioned, were ſent down to them, they refuſed to comply with them. The parliament being informed of it, were very much offended at this behaviour of the army; but the prudence and moderation of major-general Skippon, in reporting the matter to the houſe, much abated the heat of their reſentment; though ſeveral threatening expreſſions came from ſome of them; which occaſioned Cromwell, then in the houſe, to whiſper Ludlow in the ear, ſaying, "Theſe men will never leave, till the army pull them out by the ears."

1647. He promotes the army's jealouſy of the parliament.

This ſpirit of oppoſition being raiſed in the army, they began now more profeſſedly to enter into competition with the parliament, and to claim a ſhare with them in ſettling the kingdom; and that they might be upon a nearer level with them, they made choice of a number of ſuch officers as they approved, which was called the general's council of

Agitators and council of officers ſet up by the army.

of officers, and was to reſemble the houſe of peers; and three or four out of each regiment, moſt corporals or ſerjeants, were choſen by the common ſoldiers, and called *Agitators*, who were to anſwer to the houſe of commons. Theſe two bodies met ſeverally, and examined all the acts and orders of the parliament towards ſettling the kingdom, and reforming, dividing, or diſbanding the army; and, after ſome conſultations, they unanimouſly reſolved and declared, "That they would not be divided or diſbanded, till their full arrears were paid, and till full proviſion was made for liberty of conſcience; which they ſaid was the ground of the quarrel, tho' hitherto there was ſo little ſecurity provided in that point, that there was now a a greater perſecution againſt religious and godly men, than ever had been in the king's government, when the biſhops were their judges." They added, "That they did not look upon themſelves as a band of Janizaries, hired and entertained only to fight their battles; but that they had voluntarily taken up arms for the liberty and defence of the nation, of which they were a part; and before they laid down thoſe arms, they would ſee all thoſe ends well provided for, that the people might not hereafter ſuffer thoſe grievances with which they had formerly been oppreſſed."

Their reſolutions.

Three or four of their own members being ſent to the houſe of commons with this declaration, they with great confidence delivered it at the bar. And ſoon after, the ſoldiers drew up a vindication of their proceeding, directing it to their general; wherein they complained of a deſign to diſband, and new-model the army; "Which they ſaid, was a plot contrived by ſome men, who had lately taſted of ſovereignty, and being raiſed above the ordinary ſphere of ſervants, would fain become maſters, and were degenerated into tyrants." For which reaſon they declared, "That they would neither

neither be employed for the ſervice of Ireland, nor ſuffer themſelves to be diſbanded, till their deſires were obtained, and the ſubjects rights and liberties ſhould be vindicated and ſecured." This paper being ſigned by many inferior officers, the parliament declared them enemies to the ſtate, impriſoning ſome of them who talked loudeſt: Whereupon they drew up another addreſs to their general, complaining, "How diſdainfully they were uſed by the parliament, for whom they had ventured their lives, and ſpilt their blood; that the privileges due to them as ſoldiers, and as ſubjects, were taken from them; and when they complained of the injuries done to them, they were abuſed, beaten, and impriſoned."

Cromwell general in fact, Fairfax only in name

Upon this Fairfax (who was indeed a Preſbyterian, but was only general in name, Cromwell having got the aſcendant over him, and having the ſole influence upon the army, which he managed as he pleaſed) was prevailed upon to write a letter to a member of parliament, who read it to the Houſe; wherein he took notice of ſeveral petitions, which were prepared in the city of London, and other places againſt the army; adding, "That it was looked upon as ſtrange, that the officers of the army might not be permitted to petition, when ſo many petitions were received againſt them; and that he much doubted, that the army might draw to a rendezvous, and think of taking ſome other courſe for their own vindication."

The parliament was exceedingly troubled at theſe proceedings of the army. However, they reſolved not to ſubmit to, or be governed by thoſe who were their ſervants, and lived upon their pay: And therefore, after many ſevere expreſſions againſt the preſumption of ſeveral officers and ſoldiers, they declared, "That whoſoever ſhould refuſe, being commanded, to engage in the ſervice of Ireland, ſhould be diſbanded." But the army would

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Declaration of the parliament againſt the army, afterwards raſed out of ther journal-book.

by no means recede from the reſolutions they had taken, and falling into a direct and high mutiny, called for the arrears due to them, *which they knew where, and how to levy for themſelves*; nor would they be at all pacified, till the declaration of the parliament againſt them was raſed out of their journal-book, and a month's pay ſent to them: Nor did this ſatisfy them, but they ſtill gave out, "That they knew how to make themſelves as conſiderable as the parliament, and where to have their ſervice better eſteemed and requitted." This ſo ſtartled the parliament, that they ſent a committee of the lords and commons, ſome whereof were not at all ungrateful to the army, to treat with a committee of officers, upon the beſt means to be uſed, for compoſing theſe differences. By which method of proceeding the army ſeemed to be put upon a level with the parliament; and this alſo diſpoſed general Fairfax to a greater concurrence with the humour of the army, when he ſaw it was ſo much complied with, and ſubmitted to by all men.

A committee of the parliament ſent to treat with a committee of the army.

Cromwell's management with the parliament.

Cromwell hitherto thought it neceſſary to keep himſelf as fair with the parliament as poſſible; for which purpoſe, having a rare knack at diſſimulation, he would ſeem highly diſpleaſed with the inſolence of the ſoldiers, and being ſtill in the houſe of commons, when any of their addreſſes were preſented, inveighed bitterly againſt their preſumption. He alſo propoſed, That the general might be ſent down to the army; who, he ſaid, would ſoon conjure down this mutinous ſpirit: And he was ſo eaſily believed, that he himſelf was once or twice ſent to reduce them to order; and having ſtaid two or three days with them, he would again return to the parliament, and make heavy complaints "Of the great licenſe that was got into the army; that, for his own part, by the artifice of his enemies, and of thoſe who deſired that the nation ſhould be again imbrued in blood, he was rendered

ſo

ſo odious to them, that they had deſigned to kill him, if he had not timely eſcaped out of their hands." But notwithſtanding this, he was greatly ſuſpected by many, of having under-hand encouraged the army's proceedings; and the moſt active officers and agitators were believed to be his own creatures, who would do nothing without his direction; ſo that it was privately reſolved by the chief members of the houſe of commons, that when he came the next day into the houſe, which he ſeldom failed to do, they would ſend him to the Tower.

Their deſign of ſeizing him.

This deſign could not be managed ſo ſecretly, but Cromwell got intelligence of it; and ſo when the houſe the next day expected every minute to ſee him come in, they had notice given them, that he was met out of the town by break of day, with only one ſervant, making what haſte he could towards the army, where he had ordered a rendezvous of ſome regiments of the horſe, and from whence he ſent a letter to the houſe of commons, to acquaint them, "That having the night before received a letter from ſome officers of his own regiment, That the jealouſy the troops had conceived of him, and of his want of kindneſs towards them, was much abated, ſo that they believed, if he would forthwith come down to them, they would all by his advice be ſoon reclaimed; upon this he had made all the haſte he could, and did find, that the ſoldiers had been abuſed by miſinformation; and that he hoped to diſcover the fountain from whence it ſprung; and in the mean time deſired, that the general, and the other officers of the horſe, or ſuch as remained about the town, might be immediately ſent to their quarters; and he believed it would be very requiſite, in order to the ſuppreſſion of the late diſtempers, and for the prevention of the like for the future, to have a general rendezvous of the army,

Which he eſcapes.

His letter to the parliament.

of which the general would beſt conſider, when he came down; which he wiſhed might be haſtened."

Sir Harbotle Grimſton's ſtory concerning him.

This account of Cromwell's management with the parliament, leads me to inſert here what Sir Harbotle Grimſton related to biſhop Burnet, concerning him, as we have it in the firſt volume of the biſhop's hiſtory, p. 45. During the conteſts between the army and the parliament (for we cannot exactly aſſign the time when this happened) two officers brought an account to Grimſton, that at a meeting of the officers, it being propoſed to purge the army better, that they might know who to confide in; Cromwell thereupon ſaid, he was ſure of the army, but there was another body that wanted more to be purged, namely, the houſe of commons, and he believed the army only could do that. Grimſton brought the officers to the lobby of the houſe, where they were reſolved to juſtify what they had ſaid; and the commons having then ſomething in debate, he diverted it, ſaying, he had a matter of privilege of the higheſt nature to lay before them, which concerned the being and freedom of the houſe; and then he accuſed Cromwell of a deſign to put a force upon them, and having his witneſſes at the door, requeſted they might be examined. Accordingly they were brought to the bar, and juſtified all they had related to him, and gave a full account of what had paſſed at the meetings of the officers; which done, they withdrew; when Cromwell falling down on his knees, made a ſolemn prayer to God, atteſting his innocence, and his zeal for the intereſt of the houſe. This he did with great vehemence and many tears, and then made ſo long a ſpeech in his own vindication, that he tired the houſe, and wrought ſo much on his party, that what the officers ſaid, was ſo little credited, that if it had been moved, Sir Harbotle believed, he and they would be ſent to the Tower. Cromwell however no ſooner got out of the houſe,

but

but reſolving to truſt himſelf no more with them, he haſtened to the army; and a few days after he brought them up, and forced a great many from the houſe. It was his opinion, it ſeems, as the biſhop obſerves, with many in thoſe times, that in great occaſions, when ſome were called to extraordinary ſervices, they were excuſed from the common rules of morality; which they thought was the caſe of the judges among the Iſraelites.

And Mr. Lock's.

Another ſtory related by Mr. Locke, in his Memoirs, relating to the life of Sir Anthony Aſhley Cooper, firſt earl of Shaftſbury, may be likewiſe proper to be here inſerted. He tells us, it happened one morning that Sir Anthony Aſhley Cooper calling upon Mr. Hollis (viz. after their reconciliation, which he alſo relates) in his way to the houſe; he found him in a great heat againſt Cromwell, ſaying, he was reſolved to bring him to puniſhment. Sir A. A. ſhewed him how dangerous ſuch an attempt might be, earneſtly diſſuaded him from it, and told him it would be enough to get rid of him, by ſending him with a command to Ireland, which, as things ſtood, he would be glad to accept. But this would not ſatisfy Hollis; and ſo when he came to the houſe, he brought the matter to a debate, and it was moved, that Cromwell, and thoſe guilty with him, ſhould be puniſhed. Cromwell being then in the houſe, no ſooner heard this, but he ſtole out, took horſe, and poſted to the army (which my author ſays, as he remembers, was at Triploe-Heath) where he informed them of what the Preſbyterian party was doing in the houſe, and made ſuch uſe of it to them, that they now united together under him, who forthwith led them away to London, giving out menaces againſt Hollis and his party, who, with Stapleton and ſome others, were fain to fly; and thereby the Independent party becoming the ſtronger, they, as they called it, purged the houſe, and

turned out the Preſbyterians. Soon after, Cromwell meeting Sir A. A. told him, "I am beholden to you for your kindneſs to me; for you, I hear, were for letting me go without puniſhment; but your friend, God be thanked, was not wiſe enough to take your advice." But to return:

The king taken from Holmby, and brought to the army.

The king was all this while at Holmby: but the animoſities between the parliament and army ſtill continuing and increaſing, the agitators feared the parliament would now for their own ſecurity receive him upon any terms, or rather put themſelves under his protection, that they might the better ſubdue the army and reduce them to obedience. Wherefore, being inſtigated thereto by Cromwell, they on the 4th of June, ſent cornet Joyce, one of their body, with a party of horſe, to take the king out of the hands of the parliament commiſſioners, and bring him away to the army. Accordingly, Joyce about midnight drew up his horſe in order before Holmby-houſe, demanding entrance. Colonel Greaves, and major-general Brown, who being alarmed, had doubled the guards, enquiring his name and buſineſs; he ſaid, his name was Joyce, a cornet in colonel Whalley's regiment, and his buſineſs was to ſpeak with the king. Being aſked from whom, he ſaid, "From myſelf, my errand is to the king, I muſt and I will ſpeak with him." Greaves and Brown commanded their men within to ſtand to their arms; but they ſeeing them to be their fellow-ſoldiers of the ſame army, opened the gates, and ſhook hands with them as old friends. The cornet placed his centinels at the commiſſioners chamber-doors, and went himſelf by the back-ſtairs, directly to the king's bed-chamber. The grooms being much ſurprized, deſired him to lay aſide his arms, and aſſured him, that in the morning he ſhould ſpeak with the king: But he with ſword and piſtol inſiſted to have the door opened, and made ſo much noiſe that it awaked his majeſty,

who

who ſent him out word, "That he would not riſe nor ſpeak with him till the morning;" upon which the cornet retired in a huff. The king getting up early in the morning, ſent for him, who with great boldneſs told his majeſty, he was commanded to remove him. Whereupon the king deſired the commiſſioners might be called; but Joyce ſaid, "they had nothing to do, but to return to the parliament." Being aſked for a ſight of his inſtructions, he told his majeſty, "he ſhould ſee them preſently;" ſo drawing up his troop in the inner court, "Theſe, Sir, ſaid he, are my inſtructions." The king having took a good view of them, and finding them to be proper men, well mounted and armed, told the cornet with a ſmile, "His inſtructions were in fair characters, legible without ſpelling." Joyce then preſſing the king to go along with him, his majeſty refuſed, unleſs the commiſſioners might attend him; to which the cornet replied, "He was indifferent, they might go if they would:" So the king being attended by the commiſſioners of the parliament, went along with Joyce and was that night conducted by him to colonel Montague's houſe at Hinchingbrook, and the next night to Sir John Cutt's at Childerſley near Cambridge. Here Fairfax, Cromwell, Ireton, Skippon, and many other officers came to wait upon the king, and ſome of them kiſſed his hand. 'Tis ſaid, That Joyce being told, that the general was diſpleaſed with him, for taking the king from Holmby, he anſwered, "That lieutenant-general Cromwell had given him orders at London to do all that he had done;" and indeed Fairfax now reſigned himſelf entirely to Cromwell's judgment, who led and governed him as he pleaſed. And though he was at firſt diſſatisfied with this proceeding of Joyce, yet Cromwell ſoon appeaſed him, by repreſenting to him, "That nothing could have been done of greater advantage to the army and their generals, to the church and ſtate,

than

than what Joyce had been doing: That the king was on the point of making an accommodation with the parliament, who had determined to ſend colonel Greaves to fetch him; and if Joyce had not fetched him, there would have been an end of both officers and army, and all the pains they had taken for the publick good, would not only have been uſeleſs, but criminal."

CHAP. VI.

From the king's ſeizure at Holmby, *to his departure to the iſle of* Wight.

THE parliament received the news of the king's ſeizure by the army, with the utmoſt amazement and conſternation: But this was not all; for about this time, the army drew up a charge of high-treaſon againſt eleven members of the houſe of commons, viz. Mr. Denzil Hollis, Sir Philip Stapleton, Sir John Clotworthy, Serjeant Glyn, Mr. Anthony Nichols, Mr. Walter Long, Sir William Lewis, Colonel Edward Harley, Sir William Waller, Colonel Maſſey, and Sir John Maynard; for betraying the cauſe of the parliament, endeavouring to break and deſtroy the army, &c. This charge was accompanied with a declaration, ſhewing the reaſon of what they had done, affirming, that they were obliged by their duty ſo to do, as they tendered the preſervation of the publick cauſe, and ſecuring the good people of England from being a prey to their enemies. The great end of this charge of treaſon, being rather to hinder theſe members, who were the chief of the Preſbyterian party, from uſing their influence in the houſe (which was very great) in oppoſition to the proceedings of the army, than the proceeding capitally againſt them, they determined

Eleven members impeached by the army.

determined rather voluntarily to withdraw themſelves; than to put the parliament or army to any further trouble, or themſelves to any more hazard.

As theſe eleven members were the chief of the Preſbyterian party in parliament; ſo at the head of the oppoſite party (who were all called Independents, tho' made up of men of different perſuaſions, as well as of real Independents) were lieutenant-general Cromwell, colonel Ludlow, John Liſle, Eſq; Sir Henry Vane, Henry Marten, Eſq; Sir Arthur Haſlerigg, Sir Henry Mildmay, lord Grey of Groby, lord Monſon, Anthony Stapley, Eſq; Miles Corbet, Eſq; &c. There was another party in the houſe of commons who declared for neither ſide, as Mr. Pierpont, Bulſtrode Whitelock, Eſq; Oliver St. John, Eſq; John Crew, Eſq; Sir Thomas Widdrington, colonel Birch, Mr. Goodwyn, Sir John Hippeſly, &c. who ſometimes voted with the Preſbyterians and ſometimes with the Independents, as they thought conduced moſt to the ſervice of the ſtate; and generally they went with thoſe that were for ſatisfaction and ſecurity, till it was known that the death of the king was meant by it.

Cromwell's great deſign was to hinder any conjunction between the king and the Preſbyterians; and having now gotten him into his own hands, he was for endeavouring his reſtoration, by means of the Independents, thinking that thereby liberty of conſcience would be the better ſecured, which the Preſbyterian hierarchy would not ſo well admit of. And indeed the king himſelf began to think that his condition was altered for the better, and to look upon the Independent intereſt as more conſiſting with Epiſcopacy than the Preſbyterian, for that it might ſubſiſt under any form, which the other could not do. What encouraged the king the more, was, that he was much more civilly treated ſince his being in the army, than he was before,

Cromwell's deſign of reſtoring the king by means of the Independents.

before, whilſt he was the parliament's priſoner at Holmby. He was now indeed to make his involuntary progreſs according to the motion of the army, and ſo at length was brought to Hampton-Court; but he was every where allowed to appear in ſtate and luſtre, his nobility about him, his chaplains in waiting, and all ſervants permitted to attend in their proper places. The army had alſo ſent an addreſs to him, full of proteſtations of duty, beſeeching him, "That he would be content, for ſome time, to reſide among them, until the affairs of the kingdom were put into ſuch a poſture, as he might find all things to his own content, and ſecurity; which they infinitely deſired to ſee as ſoon as might be, and to that purpoſe made daily inſtances to the parliament." Cromwell indeed thought fit at firſt to be ſomething upon the reſerve in this matter, for fear of increaſing the parliament's jealouſy of him. The lord Clarendon tells us, That he and Ireton had been with his majeſty, without either of them offering to kiſs his hand; that the king uſed all the addreſs he could towards them, to get ſome promiſe from them, as knowing them to have the greateſt influence upon the army; but that they were ſo reſerved, and ſtood ſo much upon their guard, and ſpoke ſo few words, that nothing could be gathered from what they ſaid; and they deſired to be excuſed for not ſeeing his majeſty often, upon the great jealouſies the parliament had of them, towards whom they profeſſed all fidelity. But after ſome time, their behaviour toward his majeſty was more free and open, they viſited him more frequently, and had longer conferences with him; and Cromwell in particular is ſaid to have promiſed him, "That if he and his party would ſit ſtill, and neither act or declare againſt the army, they would reſtore him, and make him the moſt glorious prince in Chriſtendom." Tho' we are told, that in private among his friends, he boaſted, "That now he had got

His behaviour towards the king.

the

the king in his power, he could act as he was inclin'd."

The parliament at this time feared nothing ſo much, as that the army would make a firm conjunction with the king, and unite with his party, of which there was ſo much ſhew; and many imprudent perſons, who very much deſired it, bragged too much of it; whereupon the two houſes ſent a committee to his majeſty, with an addreſs of another ſtrain than they had lately uſed, making many proteſtations of duty, and declaring, "That if he was not in all reſpects treated as he ought to be, and as he deſired, it was not their fault, who were deſirous he might be at full liberty, and do what he would." The army at the ſame time was not without jealouſy, that the king hearkened to ſome ſecret propoſitions from the Preſbyterian party, and deſigned to make an abſolute breach between the parliament and the army; which occaſioned Ireton to ſay to him, "Sir, you have an intention to be arbitrator between the parliament and us, and we mean to be ſo between you and the parliament." The king, in the mean time, finding himſelf courted on all hands, was ſo confident of his own importance, as to imagine himſelf able to turn the ſcale to what ſide ſoever he pleaſed. In this temper he was when Sir John Berkley came to him; which he did, after leave obtained from Cromwell, who alſo confirmed with his own mouth what Sir Allen Appeſley had before communicated to Sir John, with this addition, "That he thought no man could enjoy his life and eſtate quietly, unleſs the king had his right; which, he ſaid, they had already declared to the world in general terms, and would more particularly very ſoon, wherein they would comprize the ſeveral intereſts of the Royaliſts, Preſbyterians, and Independents, as far as they were conſiſtent with one another." Some time after, 'tis ſaid, Sir John meeting him at Reading, as he was coming

ing from the king at Caverſham. Cromwell told him, "That he had lately ſeen the tendereſt ſight that ever his eyes beheld, which was the interview between the king and his children;" and wept plentifully at the remembrance of it, ſaying, "That never man was ſo abuſed in his ſiniſter opinion of the king, who he thought was the moſt upright and conſcientious man in the three kingdoms; that the Independent party were infinitely obliged to him, for not conſenting to the propoſitions ſent to him at Newcaſtle, which would have totally ruined them, and which his majeſty's intereſt ſeemed to invite him to." Concluding with this wiſh, "That God would be pleaſed to look upon him, according to the ſincerity of his heart towards the king."

Agitators and Cromwell doubtful of one another's ſincerity towards the king.

The army in general, as well as Cromwell, appeared at this time to be very zealous for the king's intereſt, and yet they ſeemed ſomewhat to ſuſpect the reality of one another's intentions. Some of the principal agitators, with whom Sir John Berkley converſed at Reading, declared to him their jealouſy, that Cromwell was not ſincere for the king, and deſired him, if he found him falſe, to inform them of it, promiſing, that they would endeavour to ſet him right, either with or againſt his will. Major Huntingdon, an officer in Cromwell's regiment, who was entruſted by him to command the guard about his majeſty, became wholly devoted to the royal intereſt, and by the king's order brought two general officers to Berkley, as perſons in whom he might confide. Theſe two diſcourſed frequently with him, and aſſured him, "That a conjunction with the king was univerſally deſired by the officers and agitators, and that Cromwell and Ireton were great diſſemblers, if they were not real in it; but that the army was ſo bent upon it at preſent, that they durſt not ſhew themſelves otherwiſe." They likewiſe informed him, "That propoſals were drawn up by Ireton, wherein Epiſcopacy

Epiſcopacy was not required to be aboliſhed, nor any of the king's party wholly ruined, nor the Militia to be taken away from the crown;" and adviſed, "That his majeſty would without delay conſent to them, there being no aſſurance of the army, which they had obſerved already to have changed more than once." Cromwell himſelf was alſo doubtful of the army. In all his conferences with Berkley, he appeared exceeding deſirous of a ſpeedy agreement with the king, inſomuch that he ſometimes blamed Ireton's ſlowneſs in perfecting the propoſals, and his backwardneſs in coming up to his majeſty's ſenſe; and on the other hand would wiſh, that Sir John Berkley would act more frankly, and not tie himſelf up by narrow principles; always declaring, "That he doubted the army would not perſiſt in their good intentions towards the king."

Mr. Aſhburnham arrives.

By this time Mr. Aſhburnham was arrived, to the king's great ſatisfaction. Sir John Berkley converſed chiefly with the agitators; but Aſhburnham was ſoon of another mind, and openly declared, That having always uſed the beſt company, he would not converſe with ſuch ſenſeleſs fellows as the agitators; that if the officers could be gained, they would, without doubt, be able to command their own army; and that he determined to apply himſelf wholly to them. Hereupon there was ſoon obſerved a great familiarity between him and Whalley, who commanded the guard that attended the king, as alſo a cloſe correſpondence with Cromwell and his ſon-in-law Ireton, meſſages daily paſſing from the king to the head quarters: Which ſoon gave the reſt of the army a ſuſpicion of ſome private treaty being carried on with the king; who being likewiſe encouraged by the Preſbyterian party (the lord Lauderdale, and ſeveral of the city of London, aſſuring him, that they would oppoſe the army to their death) when the propoſals were brought to

And correſponds with Cromwell,

King diſlikes the army's propoſals.

him, and his concurrence humbly deſired by the army, he entertained their commiſſioners with very diſobliging language, ſaying, That no man ſhould ſuffer for his ſake, and that he repented of nothing ſo much, as that he paſſed the bill againſt the earl of Stafford; and that he would have the church eſtabliſhed according to law by the propoſals; for there was nothing mentioned in them concerning church-government. The propoſals were indeed much more moderate than thoſe ſent to him from the parliament; but he unhappily thought, they proceeded only from the neceſſity they had of him, and in diſcourſing with them, would frequently uſe theſe or the like expreſſions, "You cannot do without me; you will fall to ruin, if I do not ſuſtain you." Not only the officers of the army who were preſent, but the king's own party, appeared exceedingly aſtoniſhed at this kind of proceeding; whereupon he began to ſoften his former diſcourſe, but it was too late; for colonel Rainſborough, who ſeemed leaſt of all to deſire an agreement with him, immediately going out from the conference, went directly to the army, and gave them to underſtand what treatment their commiſſioners and propoſals had met with from the king.

At which it is diſguſted.

Let us now ſee how matters ſtood between the parliament, army, and city at this time. The city, who hated the army, had their militia ſettled on the 4th of May, in the management of the Preſbyterians, who were very diligent in compleating their companies: But this was contrary to the deſign of the army, and judged to be a conſpiracy againſt it; whereupon Fairfax, who in every thing was influenced by Cromwell, upon the 12th of June wrote a letter to the parliament, "That the militia of the city of London might be put into the hands of ſuch as were better affected to the army." This the parliament quietly ſubmitted to, and July 23d repeal'd the ordinance of the 4th of May.

The

The common-council being hereupon aſſembled, reſolved to petition the parliament againſt it, which they accordingly did on the 26th; and preſently after, many thouſand citizens, young men and apprentices, went in a body and delivered another petition, ſetting forth, "That to order the city's Militia was the city's birth-right, belonging to them by charters confirmed in parliament; for defence whereof, they had ventured their lives as far as the army; and therefore they deſired, that the Militia might be put again into the ſame hands, in which it was put with the parliament's and city's conſent, by the ordinance of the 4th of May." Upon the reading of this petition, the houſe of peers immediately revoked the ordinance of the 23d of July, and renewed that of the 4th of May, and ſent it down to the commons for their conſent; which they durſt not refuſe, the apprentices behaving themſelves ſo inſolently, that they would ſcarce let the door of the houſe be ſhut, and ſome of them got in amongſt them: And ſome time after, when the houſe broke up, the ſpeaker was forced back into the chair by the violence of the multitude, who detained him and the members, till they obliged them to paſs a vote, "That the king ſhould come forthwith to London;" and another, "That he ſhould be invited to come with honour, freedom, and ſafety." And then both houſes adjourned for four days.

The parliament inſulted.

In this interval, ſeveral members, and the ſpeakers of both houſes, being apprehenſive of danger from ſuch tumults, repaired to the army, complaining of the violences upon the parliament. The army could not have deſired a greater advantage than this gave them, who therefore received the two ſpeakers with the members, as ſo many angels ſent from heaven for their good, ſhewed them all imaginable reſpect, profeſſed all ſubmiſſion to them, as to the parliament of England, and declared, "That

Whereupon ſeveral members fly to the army for protection.

"That they would re-eſtabliſh them in their full power, or periſh in the attempt." After the four days adjournment, the remainder of the parliament met; and both houſes miſſing their ſpeakers, choſe them new ones, and paſſed the following votes. Firſt, "That the king ſhould come to London." Secondly, "That the Militia of London ſhould be authorized to raiſe forces for the defence of the city." Thirdly, "That power be given to the ſame Militia to chuſe a general." Fourthly, "That the eleven members impeached by the army, ſhould reſume their ſeats in parliament."

The citizens armed with theſe powers, proceed to raiſe forces under the command of Waller, Maſſey and Pointz; but they were very much diſcouraged in their proceedings by the news of the general rendezvous of the army upon Hounſlow-heath, where the two ſpeakers appeared with their maces, and ſuch members as accompanied them, viz. the earls of Northumberland, Saliſbury, and Kent, the lord Grey of Werke, the lord Howard, the lord Wharton, the earl of Mulgrave, and the lord Say, and ſix lords more, with the earl of Mancheſter, their ſpeaker; and about an hundred members of the houſe of commons, with their ſpeaker, Mr. Lenthal. Beſides, the borough of Southwark was generally for the army, which was now marching towards London, to reſtore the members who fled to them, to their places and authorities. Part of the army ſeized upon the block-houſe at Graveſend, and blocked up the city by water towards the Eaſt, and the general with the reſt of the army, towards the Weſt. Upon this, the aldermen and common-council of the city deſerted their three generals, and ſent to Fairfax for a pacification; which he granted them upon theſe conditions. Firſt, "That they ſhould deſert the parliament then ſitting, and the eleven members." Secondly, "That they ſhould recal their late declaration." Thirdly, that they ſhould relinquiſh their preſent Militia." Fourthly,

"That

" That they ſhould deliver up to the general all their forts, and the tower of London." Fifthly, " That they ſhould diſband all the forces they had lately raiſed, and do all things elſe, which were neceſſary for the publick tranquility."

The next day, Cromwell marched to Weſtminſter, and placed the guards in the court, in the hall, and even at the doors of the two houſes: and a little after, general Fairfax conducted the ſeveral members who had fled to the army, to their ſeats in parliament; where they annulled all the acts and orders which had paſſed ſince the 26th of July. Two days after, the army marched, as it were, in triumph thro' the city, the general leading the avant-guard, major-general Skippon the main body, and Cromwell the rear-guard; and all the ſoldiers having laurel-branches in their hats. After this pompous march, the army was diſtributed into quarters, in Kent, Surrey, and Eſſex; and thus they ſurrounded the city.

Factions ariſe in the army.

The city being ſubdued, and the parliament and army ſeemingly reconciled, there now aroſe differences in the army itſelf. The agitators, no longer inclined to an agreement with the king, were very much diſturbed at ſome of the great officers, who were ſtill for promoting ſuch an agreement: And many in the army complained of the intimacy of Sir John Berkley and Mr. Aſhburnham with the chief officers of the army, declaring to the council of agitators, that the doors of Cromwell and Ireton were open to them, when they were ſhut to thoſe of the army. Cromwell was very uneaſy at theſe diſcourſes, and informed the king's party of them, telling Aſhburnham and Berkley, " That if he were an honeſt man, he had ſaid enough of the ſincerity of his intentions; and if he were not, nothing was enough; and therefore he conjured them, as they tendered the king's ſervice, not to come ſo frequently to his quarters, but to ſend privately to him; the ſuſpicion of him being

being ſo great, that he was afraid to lie in them himſelf." Thus the agitators, who were ſuppoſed to be firſt ſet up by Cromwell to oppoſe the parliament's deſign of diſbanding, began to be very troubleſome to him, and were at length ſo ſet againſt him, that he was forced for his own ſafety to make his peace with them, by abandoning the king's intereſt: as we ſhall ſee hereafter.

About three weeks after the army entered London, the parliament thought fit to addreſs themſelves to the king, in the old propoſitions of Newcaſtle, ſome particulars concerning the Scots only excepted. His majeſty adviſing with Berkley and Aſhburnham, and ſome others about him, upon this matter, 'twas concluded to be unſafe for him to treat with the parliament, whilſt the army were the maſters: And ſome ſay, that inſtructions were given by Cromwell and other officers, "That if the king would aſſent to their propoſals lower than thoſe of the parliament, the army would ſettle him again in his throne." However it was, the king thought fit to wave the parliament's propoſitions, or any treaty upon them, and deſired a perſonal treaty upon the propoſals of the army. The officers of the army having ſeen his anſwer before it was ſent, ſeemed to be very well pleaſed with it, and promiſed to do all they could to procure a perſonal treaty; and accordingly Cromwell and Ireton, and many of their party in the houſe preſſed his majeſty's deſires with great earneſtneſs; but, contrary to their expectations, they met with a vigorous oppoſition from ſuch as had already conceived a jealouſy of their private agreement with the king, and now thought themſelves ſure of it; the ſuſpicions of them growing ſo ſtrong, that they were looked upon as betrayers of the cauſe, and loſt almoſt all their friends in the parliament. The army likewiſe, which lay then about Putney, were no leſs diſſatisfied with their pro-

Cromwell prevails on the king to reject the parliament's propoſitions.

proceedings, of which they received daily information from thoſe that came to them from London; ſo that the agitators began to complain openly in council, both of the king and the malignants about him, and declared, "That ſince the king had rejected their propoſals, they were no farther engaged to him; but that they were now to conſult their own ſafety, and the public good, and having the power devolved upon them by the deciſion of the ſword, to which both parties had appealed, and being convinced that monarchy was inconſiſtent with the good of the nation, they reſolved to uſe their endeavours to reduce the government of England to the form of a Commonwealth." They alſo deſigned to have ſeized Aſhburnham and Berkley, for negotiating the treaty they ſuppoſed to have been carried on between the king and Cromwell; and carrying their fury yet further, were reſolved to wreſt the king out of the hands of the two traitors, as they called Cromwell and Ireton. Theſe things ſtruck a great terror into theſe two leaders, ſo that they thought it neceſſary to draw the army to a general rendezvous, which they could the better bring about, becauſe moſt of the great officers were ſtill well affected to the king, and diſliked theſe proceedings of the agitators, whoſe exorbitant power they hoped by that means to ſuppreſs. But the agitators having notice of the intended rendezvous, and gueſſing at the deſign of it, uſed their utmoſt endeavours to prevent it, and reſolved before-hand to ſeize on the perſon of the king.

The army prejudiced againſt him.

The fury of the agitators.

Cromwell in the mean time acquainted the king with the danger he was in, and aſſuring him of his real ſervice, proteſted to him, that it was not in his power to undertake for his ſecurity in the place where he now reſided. Hereupon the king was reſolved to make his eſcape from Hampton-Court; and ſome adviſed him to ſecure his perſon by leaving the kingdom: But to this he objected,

By Cromwell's advice the king makes his eſcape from Hampton-Court.

that the rendezvous being appointed for the next week, he was unwilling to quit the army till that was over; becauſe, if the ſuperior officers prevailed, they would be able to make good their engagements; if not, they muſt apply themſelves to him for their own ſecurity. Several other advices were offered him; but he at laſt reſolved to go to the Iſle of Wight, being very probably, as Ludlow obſerves, recommended thither by Cromwell, who, as well as the king, had a good opinion of colonel Hammond the governor, who was one of the army. Purſuant to this reſolution, the king left Hampton-Court in the night, Berkley and Aſhburnham with ſome others accompanying him; and on the 13th of November they all went over to the Iſle of Wight, being conducted thither by Hammond himſelf, who the day before came to wait on his majeſty at Titchfield.

CHAP. VII.

From the King's eſcape from Hampton-Court, and departure to the Iſle of Wight, to the breaking out of the ſecond civil war.

THE parliament being informed of the king's withdrawing himſelf from Hampton-Court, was in a terrible conſternation, and immediately paſſed an ordinance, declaring, "That it ſhould be confiſcation of eſtate, and loſs of life, for any to harbour, or conceal the king's perſon, without giving information to the parliament." And being now moſtly devoted to the army, they cauſed ſome of the moſt noted Preſbyterians houſes to be ſearched; and ſent poſts to all the ports of the kingdom, "That they might be ſhut, and no perſon be permitted to embark, leſt the king in diſguiſe ſhould tranſport himſelf." And a proclamation was publiſhed, for the baniſhing all ſuch as had

had ever borne arms for the king, from the city, or any place within twenty miles of it. But within two days their fears were all removed by Cromwell's informing the houſe, "That he had received letters from colonel Hammond, of the king's coming to the Iſle of Wight, and that he remained there in Gariſbrook-Caſtle till the parliament's pleaſure ſhould be known." He at the ſame time aſſured them, "That colonel Hammond was ſo honeſt a man, and ſo much devoted to their ſervice, that they need not fear his being corrupted by any body." And all this relation he made, ſays my lord Clarendon, with ſo unuſual a gaiety, that all men concluded, that his majeſty was where Cromwell deſired he ſhould be.

The riſe of the Levellers.

About this time the agitators of nine regiments of horſe, and ſeven of foot, preſented a writing to the general, and afterwards to the parliament, declaring;

Firſt, "That the people being unequally diſtributed by counties, cities, and boroughs, for election of their deputies in parliament, ought to be more indifferently proportioned according to the number of Inhabitants."

Second, "That this preſent parliament be diſſolved by the laſt day of September next."

Thirdly, "That the people do of courſe chuſe themſelves a parliament once in every two years."

Fourthly, "That the power of this, and all other future repreſentatives is inferior only to theirs who chuſe them, and extends, without the conſent of any other perſon, to the enacting, altering, and repealing of laws; to the erecting and aboliſhing of offices and courts; to the appointing, removing, and calling to account, magiſtrates and officers of all degrees; to the making war and peace; to the treating with foreign ſtates; and generally to whatſoever is not reſerved by thoſe

1647

repreſented to themſelves." And here they declare, "That impreſſing or conſtraining any to ſerve in the war, is againſt freedom, and not allowed to the repreſentatives.

"That in all laws every perſon be bound alike; and that tenure, eſtates, charter, degree, birth, or place, do not confer any exception from the ordinary courſe of legal proceedings whereunto others are ſubjected: And

"That the laws muſt be equal and good, and not deſtructive to the ſafety and well-being of the people.

"Theſe they declared to be their native rights, which they were reſolved to maintain, and not to depend, for the ſettlement of their peace and freedom, upon him that intended their bondage [meaning the king and brought a cruel war upon them." Thus the agitators grew ſtill bolder, and were reſolved to accompliſh their deſigns; and theſe with their adherents were now called *Levellers*, and occaſioned great diſturbance to the parliament and in the army, as likewiſe the trial and death of the king. They were called *Levellers* in deriſion only, and becauſe they held that no perſon, of whatever rank, ought to be exempted from the *ordinary courſe of legal proceedings*; but as for what is ſaid of their being againſt all degrees of honour or riches, it is utterly falſe.

The time for the general rendezvous being come, they who were of this party, to diſtinguiſh themſelves, appeared every one with a paper in his hat, with theſe words written upon it, "The rights of England, and the conſent of the people;" ſignifying thereby, that their deſign was to aboliſh, not only monarchy, but alſo the houſe of peers, and to eſtabliſh a pure democracy. This was what colonel Rainſborough, one of their leaders, aſſiſted by Eyre and Scot, went about ſoliciting from one regiment to another, ſtirring up the ſoldiers againſt Fairfax,

Fairfax, Cromwell, and the other general officers. But Cromwell was reſolved to endeavour the ſuppreſſion of this licence: For which purpoſe, being accompanied with divers officers, he with a wonderful briſkneſs and vivacity, rode up to one of the regiments, which wore the the diſtinguiſhing marks, and commanded them to take them out of their hats; which they refuſing to do, he cauſed ſeveral of them to be ſeized, and knocked two or three of them on the head with his own hand; and then the others hearts failing, they ſubmitted to him. He ordered one of thoſe whom he had ſeized to be ſhot dead upon the place, and delivered the reſt into the hands of the marſhal, and having diſperſed the army to their quarters, wrote an account of his proceedings to the parliament; who being very deſirous to have this ſpirit quelled in the army, returned him the thanks of the houſe. 1647

They are ſuppreſſed by Cromwell.

The Levellers being thus ſubdued, and the parliament and army being now pretty much of a temper, 'twas agreed, that a perſonal treaty ſhould be offered to his majeſty, on condition, that as a pledge of his future ſincerity, he would forthwith grant his royal aſſent to four preliminary bills. The firſt of which was for inveſting the militia in the two houſes: The ſecond, for revoking all proclamations and declarations againſt the parliament: The third, for making void all ſuch titles of honour, as had been conferred by his majeſty, ſince his leaving the parliament; and that for the future, none ſhould be granted to any perſon without conſent of the parliament: And the fourth, that the houſes ſhould have power to adjourn themſelves as they ſhould think fit. The Scotch being not included in this treaty, their commiſſioners ſent a large declaration in very high language to the two houſes at Weſtminſter, proteſting againſt the ſending of the four bills, and preſſing for a perſonal treaty with the king at London, upon ſuch propoſitions as ſhould be

The parliament offer a treaty with the king.

be agreed on by the advice and conſent of the two kingdoms. But the parliament was to be awed only by the army; and ſo they ordered the printer of the Scotch declaration to be committed, and then ſent them back an anſwer full of reproof and contempt.

Before we ſee what reception the four bills met with from his majeſty, let us obſerve how matters paſſed in the army ſince the late rendezvous. Ludlow, as great an enemy to Cromwell as to the king, give us the cleareſt account of the ſudden turn of affairs there, which was to the great damage, and even the ruin of the king's intereſt; whom therefore I ſhall follow upon this occaſion.

Large account of Cromwell's quitting the king's intereſt.

He informs us, that colonel Hammond and Mr. Aſhburnham had frequent conferences with the king, who had made ſuch promiſes to Hammond, that he expreſſed his earneſt deſire, that the army might reſume their power, and rid themſelves of the agitators, whoſe authority, he ſaid, he never liked. To this end he ſent one Mr Traughton, his chaplain, to the army, to adviſe them to make uſe of their late ſucceſs againſt the agitators; and ſoon after he earneſtly preſſed the king to ſend ſome of thoſe who attended on him to the army, with letters of compliment to Fairfax, and others of greater confidence to Cromwell and Ireton. He alſo wrote to them himſelf, "Conjuring them by their engagements, their honour and conſcience, to come to a ſpeedy agreement with the king, and not to expoſe themſelves to the fantaſtick giddineſs of the agitators." Sir John Berkley was appointed by the king, in purſuance of Hammond's advice, to go over to the army; who taking with him Mr. Henry Berkley his couſin, went over from the iſland with a paſs from the governor of Cowes. Being on his way towards the army, he met Mr. Traughton on his return, between Bagſhot and Windſor, who informed him, "That he

he had no good news to carry back to his majeſty, the army having entered into new reſolutions concerning his perſon." He had not gone much farther, before he was met by cornet Joyce, who told him, "That he was aſtoniſhed at his deſign of going to the army, for that it had been debated amongſt the agitators, whether, in juſtification of themſelves, the king ſhould be brought to a trial;" of which opinion he declared himſelf to be. Sir John however reſolved to go to the army, and being arrived at Windſor, went to the general's quarters, where the officers were aſſembled. Being admitted, he delivered his letters to the general, who receiving them, ordered him to withdraw. Having waited about half an hour, he was called in, when the general, with ſome ſeverity in his looks, told him, "That they were the parliament's army, and therefore could ſay nothing to the king's motion about peace, but muſt refer thoſe matters, and the king's letters, to their conſideration. Sir John then looked upon Cromwell, Ireton, and the reſt of his acquaintance; but they ſaluted him very coldly, and ſhewing him colonel Hammond's letter to them, ſmiled with diſdain upon it.

Finding himſelf thus diſappointed, Berkley went to his lodging; where having ſtaid two hours without any company, he at laſt ordered his ſervant to go out, and ſee if he could find any of his acquaintance. The ſervant going out, met with one who was a general officer, who bid him tell his maſter, that he would meet him in ſuch a place at midnight. They being accordingly met, the officer acquainted Berkley in general, that he had no good news to tell him; and then proceeding to particulars, ſaid, "You know, that I and my friends engaged ourſelves to you; that we were zealous for an agreement, and if the reſt were not ſo, we were abuſed: That ſince the tumults in the army, we did miſtruſt Cromwell and Ireton; whereof

whereof I informed you. I come now to tell you, that we miſtruſt neither, and that we are reſolved, notwithſtanding our engagement, to deſtroy the king and his poſterity; to which purpoſe Ireton has made two propoſitions this afternoon; one, that you ſhould be ſent priſoner to London; the other, that none ſhould ſpeak with you upon pain of death; and I do now hazard my life by doing it. The way deſigned to ruin his majeſty, is to ſend eight hundred of the moſt diſaffected in the army to ſecure his perſon, and then bring him to a trial, and I dare think no farther. This will be done in ten days; and therefore if the king can eſcape, let him do it, as he loves his life."

Sir John being exceedingly troubled at this relation, aſked his friend the reaſon of this change, "ſeeing the king had done all things in compliance with the army, and the officers were become ſuperior ſince the laſt rendezvous." Whereupon he gave him this account: "That though one of the mutineers was ſhot to death, eleven more impriſoned, and the reſt in appearance over-awed, yet they were ſo far from being ſo in reality, that two thirds of the army had been ſince with Cromwell and Ireton, to let them know, that though they were ſure to periſh in the enterprize, they would leave nothing unattempted to bring the whole army to their ſenſe; and if all failed, they would make a diviſion in the army, and unite with any who would aſſiſt them in the deſtruction of their oppoſers. That Cromwell and Ireton reaſoned thus with themſelves, 'If the army divide, the greateſt part will join with the Preſbyterians, and will moſt probably prevail to our ruin; or we ſhall be obliged in ſuch a manner to apply ourſelves to the king, as rather to beg than offer any aſſiſtance; which if the king ſhall give, and be ſo fortunate as to prevail; if he ſhall then pardon us, it will be all we can expect, and more than we

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can aſſure ourſelves of:' And thereupon concluded, 'That if they could not bring the army to their ſenſe, it was beſt to comply with them, a diviſion being utterly deſtructive to both.' In purſuance therefore of this reſolution, lieutenant-general Cromwell employed all his thoughts and endeavours to make his peace with the party that was moſt ſet againſt the king; pretending, as he knew well enough how to do on ſuch occaſions, "That the glory of this world had ſo dazzled his eyes, that he could not diſcern clearly the great works that the Lord was doing." He alſo ſent comfortable meſſages to the priſoners had ſeized at the late rendezvous, aſſuring them, that nothing ſhould be done to their prejudice; and by theſe and the like arts, he perfected his reconciliation with the levelling party.

Sir John Berkley returning to his lodging, diſpatched his couſin to the iſle of Wight with two letters; one to colonel Hammond, giving a general account, and doubtful judgment of affairs in the army; another in cypher, with a particular relation of the conference he had with the forementioned general officer, and a moſt earneſt ſupplication to his majeſty, to think of nothing but his immediate eſcape. The next morning he ſent col. Cook to Cromwell, to acquaint him that he had letters and inſtructions to him from the king: But Cromwell returned him anſwer by the meſſenger, "That he durſt not ſee him, it being very dangerous to them both;" aſſuring him, "that he would ſerve the king as long as he could do it without his own ruin;" but deſired, "that it might not be expected that he ſhould periſh for his ſake."

Thus we have ſeen the motives that prevailed on this famous general to abandon the king's intereſt. And much the ſame account is given by Salmonet, who will not at all be ſuſpected of being partial to Cromwell: So that if he hitherto acted ſincerely in

his deſign to ſerve the king, as is moſt probable, they who charge him with having contrived his ruin from the beginning of the civil wars, aſcribe to him more refined and more ambitious views than he really had. He was indeed ambitious enough, and was as good as any at the art of diſſimulation: But certainly nothing hinders, but a diſſembler may ſometimes be in earneſt; and his ambition might be gratified by the private treaty, that was ſuppoſed to be carried on between him and the king, by ſtipulating ſuch honours and advancements for himſelf and family, as ſuch a ſervice (viz. reſtoring the king to his throne) might reaſonably lay claim to.

Story of the king's deceiving Cromwell.

And here I cannot omit another account, that is given by ſome, of Cromwell's falling off from the king, and deſerting his intereſt. They tell us, that there was a report that Cromwell made a private article with the king, "That if his majeſty cloſed with the army's propoſals, he ſhould be made earl of Eſſex, knight of the garter, and firſt captain of the horſe-guards; and Ireton was to be made lieutenant of Ireland." Other honours and employments were likewiſe ſtipulated for Cromwell's family and friends. But the king was ſo uxorious, that he would do nothing without the advice of his queen, who not liking the propoſal, he ſent her a letter, to acquaint her, "That though he aſſented to the army's propoſals, yet if by ſo doing he could procure peace, it would be eaſier then to take off Cromwell, than now he was the head that governed the army." Cromwell, who had his ſpies upon every motion of the king, intercepted this letter, and thereupon reſolved never to truſt the king more. This indeed is ſaid to have happened before the king left Hampton-Court: For upon this they tell us, that Cromwell fearing he could not manage his deſigns, if the king were ſo near the parliament and city as Hampton-Court, gave him pri-

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vate information, that he was in no ſafety there, by reaſon of the hatred which the agitators bore him; and that he would be more ſecure in the iſle of Wight. Hereupon the king, whilſt the parliament and Scotch commiſſioners were debating his anſwer to their propoſitions, made his eſcape from Hampton-Court; as before related.

I can ſay nothing to the truth of this ſtory, but leave it to the reader to judge of it as he thinks fit. Only thus much I may obſerve, that F. Orleans ſays, 'Twas believed in France, that the king had deceived Cromwell; though he makes this to be purely the effect of Cromwell's artifice. And the lord Clarendon ſpeaks of Cromwell's complaining that the king could not be truſted, though he makes his whole carriage towards his majeſty to be nothing but hypocriſy and diſſimulation, in order to bring about his own deſigns. However I ſhall ſet down his words. Aſhburnham and Berkley, ſays he, received many advertiſements (which was a little before the king's eſcape) from ſome officers with whom they had moſt converſed, and who would have been glad that the king might have been reſtored by the army, for the preferments, which they expected might fall to their ſhare, "That Cromwell and Ireton reſolved never to truſt the king, or do any thing towards his reſtoration." And a little after, he ſays, That Cromwell himſelf expoſtulated with Mr. Aſhburnham, and complained "That the king could not be truſted, and that he had no affection or confidence in the army, but was jealous of them, and of all the officers; that he had intrigues in the parliament, and treaties with the Preſbyterians of the city, to raiſe new troubles; that he had concluded a treaty with the Scotch commiſſioners to engage the nation again in blood: And therefore he would not be anſwerable if any thing fell out amiſs, and contrary to expectation."

Agreeable enough to this account is the relation given by the author of the memoirs of the lord Broghill, of a diſcourſe that paſſed between the ſaid lord and Cromwell, whilſt he was in Ireland, in 1650. He informs us, that the lord Broghill being in diſcourſe with Cromwell and Ireton, fell upon the ſubject of the king's death: Cromwell ſaid, "If he [the king] had followed his own mind, and had had truſty ſervants about him, he had fooled them all:" Adding, "We had once an inclination to have come to terms with him, but ſomething that happened drew us off from it." The lord Broghill ſeeing they were both in a good humour, aſked them, "Why, if they were inclined to cloſe with him, they had not done it?" Upon which Cromwell frankly told him, "The reaſon of our inclination to come to terms with him, was, we found the Scots and Preſbyterians began to be more powerful than we, and were ſtrenuouſly endeavouring to ſtrike up an agreement with the king, and leave us in the lurch; wherefore we thought to prevent them by offering more reaſonable conditions: But while we were buſied with theſe thoughts, there came a letter to us from one of our ſpies, who was of the king's bed-chamber, acquainting us, that our final doom was decreed that day: What it was he could not tell, but a letter was gone to the queen with the contents of it, which letter was ſewed up in the ſkirt of a ſaddle, and the bearer of it would come with the ſaddle upon his head about ten o'clock the following night to the Blue-Boar Inn in Holborn, where he was to take horſe for Dover. The meſſenger knew nothing of the letter in the ſaddle, but ſome perſon in Dover did. We were then at Windſor; and immediately upon the receipt of the letter from our ſpy, Ireton and I reſolved to take a truſty fellow with us, and in troopers habits to go to the inn; which accordingly we did, and ſet our man at the gate of the inn to watch,

watch. The gate was ſhut, but the wicket open, and our man ſtaid to give us notice when any one came with a ſaddle upon his head. Ireton and I ſat in a box near the wicket, and called for a can of beer, and then another, drinking in that diſguiſe till ten o'clock, when our centinel gave us notice, that the man with the ſaddle was come; upon which we immediately roſe; and when the man was leading out his horſe ſaddled, we came up to him with our ſwords drawn, and told him we were to ſearch all who went in and out there; but as he looked like an honeſt fellow, we would only ſearch his ſaddle; which we did, and found the letter we looked for; and opening it, read the contents, in which the king acquainted the queen, 'he was now courted by both the factions, the Scots Preſbyterians and the army; that which of them bid faireſt for him ſhould have him; that he thought he ſhould cloſe ſooner with the Scots than the other.' Upon which we ſpeeded to Windſor, and finding we were not likely to have any tolerable terms from the king, we immediately reſolved to ruin him."

For a concluſion, I ſhall ſet down what Dr. Welwood, in his memoirs ſays, concerning this matter. "As every thing, ſays he, did contribute to the fall of King Charles I. ſo did every thing contribute to the riſe of Cromwell: And as there was no deſign at firſt againſt the king's life, ſo it's probable that Cromwell had no thoughts, for a long time, of ever arriving at what he afterwards was. It is known, he was once in treaty with the king, after the army had carried his majeſty away from Holmby-houſe, to have reſtored him to the throne; which probably he would have done, if the ſecret had not been like to take vent, by the indiſcretion of ſome about the king; which puſhed Cromwell on to prevent his own, by the ruin of the king."

However it was (for theſe things muſt ſtill remain under ſome confuſion) it is certain, as the

lord

Meeting of officers at Windſor, reſolve to have the king proſecuted.

lord Clarendon obſerves, that a few days after the king's departure from Hampton-Court, and after it was known he was in the Iſle of Wight, there was a meeting of the general officers of the army at Windſor (very probably the ſame which Ludlow mentions, into which Sir John Berkley was admitted) where Cromwell and Ireton were preſent, to conſider what ſhould now be done with the king: And it was reſolved, "That he ſhould be proſecuted for his life as a criminal perſon." This reſolution, however, was a great ſecret, whereof the parliament had not the leaſt notice or ſuſpicion; but was, as it had been, to be led on by degrees to do what it never deſigned.

The parliament's four bills preſented to him.

The parliament's commiſſioners being arrived in the Iſle of Wight, preſented the four preliminary bills with the propoſitions on them to his majeſty; and the next day the Scotch commiſſioners waited on the king, and entered their proteſtation to this purpoſe, "That they had endeavoured all ways and means with the parliament of England, for furthering a happy peace; but having ſeen the propoſitions and bills brought to his majeſty, which they apprehended prejudicial to religion, the crown, and the union between the two kingdoms; they therefore, in the name of Scotland, declared their diſſent." The king having no mind to paſs the four bills, and gueſſing what might thence enſue, began to think of making his eſcape. And general Fairfax ſent a letter to the houſe of commons to acquaint them, that there had been ſome meeting in the Iſle of Wight, with an intention to reſcue the king; for which reaſon he had ſent orders to the governor, to have a ſtrict guard upon his majeſty's perſon. Whereupon the parliament agreed, that his excellency be required to take ſpecial care for ſecuring the king's perſon in the caſtle of Cariſbrook, and that Hammond ſhould obey his farther orders and directions.

The

The commiſſioners of the parliament were by this time come back with the king's anſwer, which imported, "That he had refuſed to paſs the bills, or make a compoſure in that way; but had barely offered a perſonal treaty." Upon this there followed a long debate in the houſe, and many ſevere and bitter ſpeeches were made againſt the king. Among the reſt, Cromwell declared, "That the king was a man of great parts and great underſtanding; but withal ſo great a diſſembler, and ſo falſe a man, that he was not to be truſted." And thereupon he rehearſed ſeveral particulars whilſt he was in the army: "That the king wiſhed ſuch and ſuch things might be done; which being done to gratify him, he was diſpleaſed, and complained of it: That whilſt he profeſſed with all ſolemnity, that he referred himſelf wholly to the parliament, and depended only on their wiſdom and counſel, for ſettling and compoſing the diſtractions of the kingdom, he at the ſame time had ſecret treaties with the Scotch commiſſioners, how he might embroil the nation in a new war, and deſtroy the parliament:" Concluding, "That they might trouble themſelves no further with ſending meſſages or farther propoſitions to the king, but that they might enter upon thoſe counſels, which were neceſſary towards the ſettlement of the kingdom, without having farther recourſe to him." Thoſe of his party ſeconded this motion with new reproaches upon the perſon of the king; and after ſeveral days ſpent in paſſionate debates on this matter, the houſe of commons voted, Firſt, "That they will make no farther applications or addreſſes to the king. Secondly, That no addreſſes or applications be made to the king by any perſon whatſoever, without leave from the parliament. Thirdly, That they will receive no more meſſages from the king; and that no perſon do preſume to bring any meſſage from him to the parliament, or any other perſon. Fourthly,

He refuſes to paſs them.

Cromwell's ſpeech in the houſe thereupon.

Votes of no more addreſſes to the king.

Fourthly, That the perſon or perſons who ſhall make breach of theſe orders, ſhall incur the penalty of high treaſon." And to theſe votes the lords ſoon after agreed.

Some give a larger account of the ſpeeches of Cromwell and Ireton in this grand debate. They ſay, that Ireton was the firſt that ſpake with warmth, and that Cromwell ſeconded him; and that from the king's refuſing to ſign the four acts, they inferred, "That he had ſufficiently declared himſelf for arbitrary government:" and alleged, "That he was no longer the protector, but the tyrant of his people; and conſequently, that they were no longer his ſubjects, and would govern without him; that their long patience had availed nothing; and that it was expected from their zeal to their country, that they ſhould take ſuch reſolutions, as were worthy of an aſſembly with whom the nation had intruſted their ſafety." They add, that as theſe two perſons were not only members of the houſe, but alſo chiefs in the army; after they had firſt ſpoken under the former character, they ſpake again in the other, to this effect: "That they were well perſuaded of the parliament's good intentions, and were aſſured, that without ſuffering themſelves to be amuſed any longer, they would defend the nation by their own proper authority, and by the courage of thoſe valiant men, that were enrolled under their banners, who by their mouths gave them aſſurances of their fidelity, which nothing could ſhake. But have a care, ſaid they, that you do not give the army, who ſacrifice themſelves for the liberty of the nation, any grounds to ſuſpect you of betraying them; and do not oblige them to look for their own ſafety, and that of the nation, in their own ſtrength, which they deſire to owe to nothing, but to the ſteadineſs and vigour of your reſolutions." This was a bold ſpeech, if true;

and

and it is farther ſaid, that Cromwell, at the concluſion of it, clapt his hand upon his ſword.

Thus the parliament and army were united againſt the king; and now colonel Rainſborough, one of the chief of the Levellers, was appointed admiral of the fleet; and two or three members of the houſe of commons of that party were ſent down to the head quarters at Windſor, with orders to diſcharge from cuſtody captain Reynolds, and ſome others, who had been impriſoned by the officers of the army, for endeavouring to effect that which they themſelves were now doing; and to exhort the officers to uſe their utmoſt endeavours towards a ſpeedy ſettlement.

But notwithſtanding this conjunction of the parliament and army, they could not enjoy their power and authority without great diſturbance and oppoſition. The votes of non-addreſſes had exceedingly enraged the Preſbyterians as well as the Royal Party; and the people in general began to be very uneaſy and diſcontented. Taxes and impoſitions were continually increaſed, and became almoſt an inſupportable burden to the nation, and yet there was no likelihood of coming to a ſettlement for the eaſe of theſe grievances; and moſt believed there would never be any till the king was reſtored. Upon this, the people in many parts of the kingdom began to exert themſelves in the behalf of their ſovereign, who, however cloſely confined in the Iſle of Wight, ſtill held a correſpondence in England, and had intelligence from thence. Several petitions were brought to the parliament by great numbers of people, in a tumultuous manner, for a perſonal treaty with the king; of which the chief were thoſe of Surry, Eſſex and Kent: And in many places, the people began to think of taking up arms for compaſſing theſe deſigns. Beſides, the Scots, purſuant to their treaty with the king, were making all poſ-

1643. Diſcontents and tumults of the people

ſible preparations for raiſing an army; wherein the Preſbyterians and Cavaliers joined, tho' with different views; and the Preſbyterians in England, diſcourſed freely of great hopes from the other kingdom. Thus the dark clouds begah to gather apace, and in a ſhort time a ſecond civil war infeſted the whole nation.

Cromwell's management thereupon.

In the mean time, as Ludlow tells us, lieutenant-general Cromwell procured a meeting of ſeveral leading men of the Preſbyterian and Independent parties, both members of parliament and miniſters, at a dinner in Weſtminſter, in order to promote a reconciliation between the two intereſts: But he found it a work too hard for him to heal the differences and animoſities of theſe two prevailing parties, one of which would endure no ſuperior, the other no equal; ſo that this meeting came to nothing.

Another conference was by his contrivance held in King-ſtreet, between thoſe called the grandees of the houſe and army, and the common-wealth's-men; in which the grandees, of whom Cromwell was the the head, delivered themſelves with ſome uncertainty, and would not declare their opinions either for a monarchical, ariſtocratical or democratical government, maintaining that any of them might be good in themſelves or for the nation, according as providence ſhould direct: Whilſt the commonwealth's-men would have it, that monarchy was neither good in itſelf, nor for the nation, and uſed ſeveral arguments to confirm their opinion, recommending at the ſame time the eſtabliſhment of an equal commonwealth; notwithſtanding which the lieutenant-general profeſſed himſelf for the preſent to be unreſolved; and the next day paſſing by Ludlow in the houſe, he told him, "That he was indeed convinced of the deſireableneſs of what was propoſed, but not of the feaſibleneſs of it."

Cromwell, however, in theſe times of difficulty and danger, thought fit to court the commonwealth party,

party, and to that end invited ſome of them to confer with him at his chamber. The next time he came to the houſe of commons, he informed Ludlow of it, who freely told him. "That he knew how to cajole and give them good words, when he had occaſion to make uſe of them." Whereupon with ſome paſſion he ſaid, "They were a proud ſort of people, and only conſiderable in their own conceits." At another time he complained to Ludlow, as they were walking in the Palace-yard, "of the unhappineſs of his condition, having made the greateſt part of the nation his enemies, by adhering to a juſt cauſe:" But his greateſt trouble he ſaid was, "That many who were engaged in the ſame cauſe with him, had entertained a jealouſy and ſuſpicion of him; which he affirmed to be a great diſcouragement to him." This ſhews, that notwithſtanding his late reconciliation with thoſe called Levellers, they ſtill ſuſpected he was not true to their cauſe; and yet, that he found himſelf under a neceſſity of keeping as fair with them as poſſible.

Tumults and inſurrections ſtill increaſing, and all things ſeeming to threaten a new war, Cromwell thought it likewiſe neceſſary to preſerve a good underſtanding between the parliament and army. He therefore got the general to write to the houſe of lords, to aſſure them of the army's ſubmiſſion, and that they would act nothing but in concert with the two houſes, and by their order. Being likewiſe afraid of the city, he propoſed in the houſe of commons to unite the intereſts of the parliament, the city, and the army, and to make them (as he ſaid) invincible, by making them inſeparable. So a treaty was ſet on foot, in which indeed the army was not mentioned, only that the two regiments that had come into the city upon ſome diſturbance there, ſhould be withdrawn; but the treaty only mentioned the two houſes, and the city: And this conjunction was ſufficient for Cromwell at preſent;

for he thereby prevented the union, which the city was upon the point of concluding with the Scotch royaliſts; and beſides, the power which the army had in the houſe, was at this time ſufficient to ſecure the city to them. But let us now ſee, how the ſecond civil war was managed, and the great ſhare of ſucceſs our lieutenant-general had therein.

CHAP. VIII.

The ſecond civil war, and Cromwell's actions in it.

The beginning of the ſecond civil war.

THE firſt that actually took up arms, were the Welſh; and this they did under the conduct of major-general Laughorn, col. Poyer and col. Powel, who had all three been formerly very zealous in acting on the parliament's ſide; but being now to be diſbanded by order of the council of war, they refuſed to obey; and the better to ſecure themſelves, declared for the king, and acted by commiſſion and powers from the prince of Wales. Major-general Stradling, and other royaliſts, joining with Laughorn, he ſoon had the appearance of a conſiderable army, which very ſhortly enabled him to poſſeſs himſelf of the town and caſtles of Pembroke and Tenby; at which time Chepſtow caſtle was likewiſe ſurprized by Sir Nicholas Kemiſh. The preparations in Kent for a war were not leſs formidable; for great numbers in that county rendezvouſing near Rocheſter, they choſe Goring, earl of Norwich, who was then with them, for their general; and they ſoon received a conſiderable addition to their ſtrength, by great numbers of apprentices and reformed officers and ſoldiers daily flocking from London to their quarters; which ſo frighted the two houſes, that they preſently reſtored to the city their Militia; and Skippon being re-admitted to the command of their forces, they interrupted the communication with Kent, by placing guards upon the paſſages of the river. The

increaſe

increaſe of the Kentiſh forces ſo animated the ſeamen, that a conſiderable part of the navy, with captain Batten, ſometime vice-admiral to the earl of Warwick, revolted from the parliament, and put themſelves under the power of prince Charles. But the fierceſt ſtorm was threatened from the preparations in the North, where Sir Marmaduke Langdale, and others of the king's party, having ſurpriſed the ſtrong town of Berwick, and Sir Philip Muſgrave, and Sir Thomas Glemham, that of Carliſle, had raiſed a conſiderable body to join with the Scots, who were now about to enter England with a powerful army. Beſides this, the earl of Holland, with the duke of Buckingham, the lord Francis his brother, the earl of Peterborough, and ſome other perſons of quality, having formed a party of about five hundred horſe, with ſome foot, for his majeſty's ſervice, appeared with them near Kingſton, and declared againſt the parliament. Several caſtles were ſeized, and declared for the king; and among the reſt Pomfret was artfully ſurpriſed by major Morrice: And there was ſcarce a county in England where there was not ſome aſſociation forming, to appear in arms for the king.

Proceedings of the parliament thereupon.

Theſe vigorous preparations for a war became very formidable to thoſe at Weſtminſter; who hereupon appointed a committee of ſafety for the commonwealth, which daily ſat at Derby-houſe, and conſiſted of twenty perſons, viz. ſeven lords and thirteen of the houſe of commons, of whom lieutenant general Cromwell was one. This committee had power given them to ſuppreſs all tumults and inſurrections, and for that end to raiſe forces as they ſaw occaſion. And then for the more ſpeedy ſuppreſſion of the ſeveral inſurrections, the army was divided, and ſmall parties ſent to thoſe places where the royaliſts were weakeſt. Fairfax, Lambert and Cromwell commanded the reſt, every one march-

marching a ſeveral way; Fairfax into Kent, Lambert into the north, and Cromwell into Wales, who was afterwards to march into the north, and join Lambert.

Several inſurrections quelled.

The earl of Holland and the duke of Buckingham were ſoon defeated by a party of horſe and foot that was ſent after them, under the command of Sir Michael Liveſey. The earl was taken priſoner; the duke, after loſing his brother the lord Francis, narrowly eſcaped, and went over to France. The earl of Warwick, with the fleet equipped for him by the parliament, fell down the river towards prince Charles, who with the revolted ſhips had blocked up the mouth of the Thames, where he lay ſome time in expectation, preſuming that the earl would not fight him, and might perhaps come over to him: But perceiving, by the manner of his approach, that he was miſtaken in that particular, he thought fit to make all the ſail he could for the coaſt of Holland. The caſtles of Deal and Sandwich were reduced by colonel Rich; and many of the revolted ſhips, not finding things according to their expectation, returned to the obedience of the parliament. In the mean time general Fairfax routed the Kentiſh royaliſts at Maidſtone, and drove the lord Goring with his men into Eſſex; where, tho' joined by the lord Capel, Sir Charles Lucas, Sir George Liſle, and others, Fairfax forced them to ſhut themſelves up in Colcheſter, where he beſieged them, and lay before the place a long time; but having compelled them at laſt to ſurrender upon ſuch terms as he would allow them, Sir Charles Lucas and Sir George Liſle were ſhot to death by ſentence of the council of war, and the lords Goring and Capel, were ſent priſoners to Windſor-caſtle. But paſſing by theſe things, as not ſo immediately concerning our preſent deſign, let us ſee what ſhare of glory lieutenant-general Cromwell acquired by his ſucceſſes in this war.

His

His buſineſs, as before hinted, was to reduce the king's party in Wales. In order to effect this, he ſent colonel Horton thither before him, with about three thouſand horſe, foot, and dragoons, he himſelf following with as many forces as could be ſpared from the army. Being within three or four days march of the colonel, he received information, that Laughorn with an army of near eight thouſand, had engaged him at St. Fagon's in Glamorganſhire; that upon the firſt charge his forces gave ground; but afterwards reflecting on the danger they were in, the country being full of enemies, they charged the van of the royaliſts, where the beſt of Laughorn's men were, with ſuch fury and reſolution, that they obliged them to give way; which thoſe in the rear, being moſtly new-raiſed men, perceiving, they began to ſhift for themſelves; upon which Horton's men proſecuted their advantage with ſo much vigour and ſucceſs, that the whole body of their enemies was ſoon routed, fifteen hundred ſlain, and near three thouſand taken priſoners.

Horton defeats Laughorn's army.

Upon this Cromwell haſtens to join him; and in his march comes before Chepſtow, where they drew out ſome forces againſt him; but colonel Pride's men fell on ſo furiouſly that they gained the town, and beat the ſoldiers into the caſtle; which being ſtrongly fortified, and well provided, Cromwell ſent to Briſtol for ſome great guns, and haſtening into Pembrokeſhire, left colonel Ewer to proſecute the ſiege; who having made a breach on the 25th of May, reſolutely attacked and carried the caſtle ſword in hand; Sir Nicholas Kemiſh, who commanded there, being ſlain, and an hundred and twenty taken priſoners.

Cromwell beſieges Chepſtow.

Cromwell being arrived in Pembrokeſhire, firſt ordered the ſtorming of Tenby with col. Overton's regiment, and part of Sir W. Conſtable's, commanded by lieut.-col. Read; and after ſeveral furious aſſaults, the town firſt, and then the caſtle, ſurrendered upon mercy.

Storms Tenby.

Laughorn

Laughorn and Powel, after their defeat by col. Horton, eſcaped to Pembroke, which Poyer had kept for them. Here they thought themſelves ſafe, when Cromwell appearing, beſieged them himſelf in perſon in that place: But that dreadful name did not ſo diſcourage them, but that being fully perſuaded that the ſtopping of that general would be as good as a victory, when the parliament had ſo much work on their hands elſewhere, they reſolved to ſtand out, and defended themſelves long enough to have wearied out almoſt any other man, as little uſed to be baffled as Cromwell. On the contrary, the rumour of the Scotch invaſion daily increaſing, animated the lieuterant-general to employ all his ſkill and vigour for the reduction of this important place. The garriſon within, as has been ſaid, was ſtrong and reſolute, and the place well fortified, which however he was reſolved to attempt by ſtorm; and falling on with ſingular courage, met with gallant reſiſtance: After which, not thinking it adviſeable to expoſe his men to new hazards, he determined to gain that by famine, which could not ſo well be effected by force. And this he was the rather induced to do, for that he had certain intelligence of the ſmall quantity of proviſions they had in the town and caſtle; and then, diviſions began to ariſe amongſt them, which at length grew to that height, that the ſoldiers were ready to mutiny againſt their commanders; crying out, 'We ſhall be ſtarved for two or three mens pleaſures, better it were that we ſhould throw them over the walls.' Accordingly, Cromwell ordered ſtrict guard to be kept in his trenches, to keep them from running; which order being well obſerved, they were compelled at length to deſire a parley, and on the 11th of July ſurrendered the town and caſtle to him upon articles. Laughorn, Poyer, and Powel, and ſome other officers, ſurrendered themſelves priſoners at mercy. Sir Charles Kemiſh, Sir Henry Stradling, and

Takes Pembroke town and caſtle.

and about ten more officers and gentlemen, were to depart the kingdom within ſix weeks, and not to return in two years; and all the reſt to have liberty to go to their homes, and not to be plundered. The ſick and wounded were to be taken care of; the townſmen not to be plundered, but to enjoy their liberty as formerly; and together with the town and caſtle, the arms, ammunition and proviſions were to be delivered up to lieutenant-general Cromwell, for the uſe of the parliament. Laughorn, Poyer, and Powell were afterwards condemned by ſentence of a court-martial; but having the favour to draw lots which of them ſhould die, the other two to be ſpared, the lot fell upon col. Poyer, who was accordingly ſhot to death in Covent-Garden.

The Scots invade England.

About the time that Pembroke was reduced, duke Hamilton entered England with an army of about twenty thouſand Scots, who were farther ſtrengthened by the acceſſion of about five thouſand Engliſh, under the command of Sir Marmaduke Langdale. Scotland was at this time divided into two parties, very violent in their oppoſition one to the other; the rigid Preſbyterians, who ſo adored the *Covenant*, in the ſtricteſt ſenſe of the letter, that they would not depart from the moſt rigid clauſe in it, and were utterly againſt having any thing to do with the Cavaliers in this expedition; and theſe were headed by the marquis of Argyle: And the Hamiltonian party, who were in effect for reſtoring the king without any terms, tho' at the ſame time, in order to the more eaſy compaſſing of their deſigns, they pretended a great veneration for the ſame Covenant. Now, tho' the former was a ſtrong party, and their number very great; yet the others had managed ſo dexterouſly in getting ſuch elections of members for the parliament, as might enable them to carry their point, that when it came to a trial in that aſſembly, the anti-covenanters carried all before them; ſo that inſtead of the

marquis of Argyle, the duke of Hamilton, who was the chief of this latter party, was appointed general of their army, all the inferior officers being of the ſame mould and principle; inſomuch that the pulpits, which before had proclaimed this war, now accompanied the army that was marching into England with their curſes.

The houſe of commons receiving intelligence that the Scots had invaded England, declared them to be enemies, and ordered lieutenant-general Cromwell to advance towards them, and fight them. Accordingly, having compleated the reduction of Wales, Cromwell marched towards the North with all his power; and ſent to major-general Lambert, deſiring him not to engage with the Scots, till he came up to him and joined him. Lambert therefore ſkilfully endeavoured rather to harraſs the Scotch army than to fight it; and choſe rather to let them advance, that they might have the longer way to retreat home; and he found his taſk with them much the eaſier, by reaſon of their ſeveral unſeaſonable halts, by which means the army was daily diminiſhed, and often ſeparated to their great diſadvantage; all which was owing either to dark deſigns in the army, diviſions, or weak management.

Cromwell marches againſt them.

Whilſt Cromwell was on his march northwards, a charge of high-treaſon was framed againſt him by major Huntingdon beforementioned, with the advice of ſome members of both houſes, for endeavouring, by betraying the king, parliament, and army, to advance himſelf. But it being manifeſt, as Ludlow obſerves, that the preferring ſuch an accuſation at that time, was chiefly deſigned to take him off from his command, and thereby to weaken the army, that their enemies might the more eaſily prevail againſt them; the parliament thought it moſt advicable to diſcountenance any thing of that nature.

A charge of high-treaſon framed againſt him to no purpoſe.

To proceed: Cromwell having joined Lambert, both armies met on the 17th of Auguſt, near Preſton in Lancaſhire. The Engliſh in the Scotch army had the honour of the van, and for a time engaged Cromwell's men with much bravery; but were at laſt ſo vigorouſly preſſed upon by them, that they were forced to retreat to a paſs, which they endeavoured to maintain, whilſt they ſent to the duke for ſuccour; which he not ſending, they began to ſhift for themſelves; tho' Langdale afterwards declared, "That if one thouſand foot had been ſent to him, he verily believed he ſhould have gained the day;" and Cromwell himſelf acknowledged, "That he never ſaw foot fight ſo deſperately as they did." The Scots perceiving the diſorder their Engliſh friends were put into, it made ſuch an impreſſion upon them, that they ſoon followed their example, retreating in a diſorderly manner; but were ſo cloſely purſued by Cromwell, that many of their foot threw down their arms, and yielded themſelves priſoners, and many were ſlain. Several principal officers of their foot were likewiſe taken, with all their artillery, ammunition and baggage. Many of their horſe fled towards Lancaſter, and were purſued near ten miles with great execution.

He defeats the Scots at Preſton and other places.

The duke marched away in the night, with about eight thouſand foot, and four thouſand horſe; and Cromwell followed him with about three thouſand foot, and two thouſand five hundred horſe and dragoons, killing and taking ſeveral in the way; but by the time the reſt of his army was come up, the duke recovered Wigan, before they could attempt any thing upon them. All that night they lay in the field dirty and weary, and had ſome ſkirmiſhing with the enemy, who the next morning marched towards Warrington, and made a ſtand at a paſs, which for many hours was diſputed with great reſolution on both ſides: But at length Cromwell beat them from their ſtanding, killed about one

thouſand of them, and took about two thouſand priſoners. He purſued them home to Warrington town, where they poſſeſſed themſelves of the bridge; but Cromwell coming thither, lieutenant-general Bayley deſired to capitulate, and had no other terms given him than, "That he ſhould ſurrender himſelf and all his officers and ſoldiers priſoners of war, with all his arms, ammunition, &c." which was accordingly done; and here were taken four thouſand compleat arms and as many priſoners, and the duke's infantry was totally ruined; who, with his remaining horſe, marched towards Nantwich, where the gentlemen of the country took about five hundred of them, and killed ſeveral; and Cromwell ſent poſt to the lord Grey, Sir Henry Cholmeley, and Sir Edward Roade, to gather all together with ſpeed for the purſuit of the enemy. And ſo duke Hamilton being preſſed upon by the country, fled at laſt to Uxeter in Staffordſhire; where, with about three thouſand horſe which he had with him, he was taken, and ſent priſoner to Windſor caſtle. Thus the whole Scotch army, which had occaſioned ſo much terror, was routed and defeated; and what is moſt remarkable, is, that all this great victory was obtained by Cromwell, with an army amounting to ſcarce above a third part of the Scots in number, if they had been all together; the conduct of this general, and the goodneſs of his troops, making amends for the ſmallneſs of the number, which was not diminiſhed half a hundred in gaining this victory, after the Engliſh under Langdale had been beaten. And tho' indeed the circumſtances of this victory are variouſly related by hiſtorians, yet all agree in attributing the honour of it to Cromwell. All the enemy's cannon and baggage was taken, with their colours; and only ſome of their horſe, which had been quartered moſt backward, made haſte to carry news to their country, of the ill ſucceſs of their arms.

arms. They who did not take the way for Scotland, were, for the moſt part, taken by the activity of the country, or the horſe that purſued them. And Sir Marmaduke Langdale, after he had made his way with ſome of his men, who continued with him till they found it ſafeſt to diſperſe themſelves, was diſcovered; and being taken priſoner was conveyed to the caſtle of Nottingham, from whence afterwards he had the good fortune to eſcape.

Lieutenant-general Cromwell having thus defeated the Scots under duke Hamilton, reſolved to proſecute the advantage, by marching with all poſſible ſpeed againſt Monroe, who was come into England, as a reſerve to the duke, with above ſix thouſand horſe and foot, and had marched almoſt to the borders of Lancaſhire: But having notice given him, that Cromwell was advancing towards him, and not thinking he ſhould be able to ſtand before him, who but juſt before had defeated an army ſo much exceeding his own, he made what haſte he could back into Scotland.

Cromwell having thus rid the whole nation in general of a great fear, and eaſed the North in particular of that grievous burden they groaned under, by the plunder and oppreſſion of the Scotch army, reſolved to proſecute his victory to the utmoſt, by entering into Scotland itſelf, that he might effectually root out there whatever threatened any further diſturbance. It was generally believed, that the marquis of Argyle earneſtly invited him to this progreſs; for notwithſtanding duke Hamilton's defeat, his brother the earl of Lanrick ſtill bore all the ſway in the committee of parliament, as well as in the council; and the troops which Monroe had raiſed for the recruit of the duke's army, were ſtill together, which the few forces raiſed by Argyle, were not ſufficient to oppoſe. However, if he did not invite Cromwell, it is certain he was very glad

of

of his coming, and made all poſſible haſte to bid him welcome at his entrance into the kingdom.

Reduces Carliſle ang Berwick.

Cromwell with his victorious army continuing his march towards Scotland, in his way reduced Carliſle and Berwick to their former obedience both being delivered up to him on compoſition. Being juſt ready to enter that kingdom, he drew his army to a rendezvous on the banks of the Tweed, and ordered proclamation to be made at the head of every regiment, that none of them ſhould force from the Scotch people any of their cattle or goods, upon pain of death; but that in all things they ſhould behave themſelves civilly in their march and quarters, giving no offence to any.

Enters Scotland, and publiſhes a declaration.

As he entered Scotland, he declared, That he came with his army to free the kingdom from a force, which it was under from malignant men who had forced the nation to break the friendſhip with their brethren of England who had been ſo faithful to them: That it having pleaſed God to defeat the army under duke Hamilton, who endeavoured to engage the nation in each other's blood, he was come thither to prevent any further miſchief, and to remove thoſe from authority who had uſed their power ſo ill; and that he hoped he ſhould in very few days return with an aſſurance of the brotherly affection of that kingdom to the parliament of England, which did not deſire in any degree to invade their liberties, or infringe their privileges. Upon this the earl of Lanrick, and all the Hamiltonian party withdrew from Edinburgh, and they who continued there were reſolved to comply with Argyle, who they now ſaw could protect them.

Marches to Edinburgh.

Cromwell marched directly for Edinburgh, and in his way was met by many of the Scotch nobility and gentry from the committee of eſtates, with congratulatory orations in honour of his worthy atchievements; acknowledging that his preſence would

would conduce much to the compoſing of the diſtractions of the kingdom. Being thus conducted to Edinburgh by the marquis of Argyle, and the reſt that came to meet him, he was received there with all the ſolemnity and reſpect due to the deliverer of their country. His army was quartered about, and ſupplied with all proviſions the country could afford; and himſelf was lodged in the earl of Murrey's houſe, where reſorted to him the lord chancellor, with many others of the nobility and gentry. The lord provoſt, with ſeveral eminent citizens, came likewiſe to welcome him thither, and preſent their ſervice to him. Thus the Scotch Preſbyterians, who lately looked upon the Independent party as the worſt of their enemies, now owned and embraced this Sectarian army (as they before called it) as their beſt friends and deliverers. 1648

He diſpoſſeſſes the Hamiltonians.

Lieutenant-general Cromwell had not been long at Edinburgh, before he demanded of the committee of eſtates, that they would ſeclude from all public truſts, all who had any hand in, or did in the leaſt promote duke Hamilton's late invaſion: To which the committee gave a ſatisfactory anſwer. Several other demands were likewiſe made by him, with which the committee complied; and he reſerved liberty for the parliament of England, to make ſuch further demands as they ſhould think requiſite. Whilſt he ſtaid with them, the committee ſent an order and command to Monroe to diſband his troops; which when he ſeemed reſolved not to do, he ſoon perceived that Cromwell muſt be the arbitrator; and thereupon he very punctually obeyed the orders of the committee.

Cromwell having thus finiſhed what he came about, began to prepare for his return to England; but before he left them, the committee fearing ſome new diſturbance might ariſe after the departure of the Engliſh army, requeſted him, that he would

leave

leave ſome forces with them, which might be ready to ſuppreſs any inſurrections; promiſing, that when they had raiſed a ſufficient force for their own defence, they would diſmiſs them, and ſend them back into their own country. To this Cromwell readily yielded, and appointed major-general Lambert, with three regiments of horſe, for the ſaid ſervice.

Matters having been thus concerted to the ſatisfaction of both parties, the Scots invited Cromwell and the chief officers of his army to the caſtle of Edinburgh, whither they were all conveyed in coaches, and were magnificently treated at a banquet prepared for them; and at their departure, they were ſaluted by all the cannon of the caſtle, and many vollies of ſmall ſhot. On the 16th of October, Cromwell left Edinburgh, being conducted ſeveral miles on his way by the marquis of Argyle, and many others of the Scotch nobility; and at their parting, great demonſtrations of affection paſſed betwixt them. Soon after, the committee of eſtates ſent letters to the parliament of England, acknowledging, "That they were ſenſible of the benefit to Scotland, againſt the enemies of both nations, by the coming thither of the forces under lieutenant-general Cromwell, and major-general Lambert; and that the deportment of the officers and ſoldiers had been ſo fair and civil, that they truſted by their carriage the malignants would be much convinced and diſappointed, and the amity of both kingdoms ſtrengthened and confirmed; which they, on their part, ſhould likewiſe ſtudy to preſerve."

Returns for England.

Cromwell arriving at Newcaſtle with his army, was nobly treated there, and welcomed with great guns, ringing of bells, and other rejoicings. From hence he bends his courſe directly to Carliſle, having firſt ordered a conſiderable number of forces for ſtrengthening the ſiege of Pontefract or Pomfret caſtle.

Arrives at Newcaſtle.

caſtle. This place, though not very great, was very conſiderable for its ſtrength, but moſt remarkable for the valour of thoſe who defended it, whereby it became famous at this time all over the kingdom. The garriſon conſiſted of about four hundred foot, and a hundred and thirty horſe, all bold and reſolute men, as appeared by their actions. One time a party of horſe iſſuing out of the caſtle, took Sir Arthur Ingram, and carrying him in, obliged him to pay one thouſand five hundred pounds for his ranſom, before he could get out again. At another time captain Clayton, and moſt of his troops, were ſeized upon by them, and made priſoners. They likewiſe fetched two hundred head of cattle, with many horſes, into the caſtle, whilſt Sir Henry Cholmley lay before it with his forces, to keep them in. But the boldeſt action of all was this (which was indeed a wicked one): One morning before day, there ſallied out forty horſe, who haſtened away to Doncaſter, where colonel Rainſborough, who had a commiſſion to command in chief before the caſtle, then quartered. Being come near the town, three of the party leaving their companions without, with great confidence marched in, and enquired for col. Rainſborough's quarters; which being informed of, they entered, pretending they came to deliver a letter to him from lieutenant-general Cromwell. When they came to him, being in bed, they told him he was their priſoner; but upon his refuſal to go ſilently with them, they run him thro' with their ſwords, ſo that he immediately expired. And altho' his forces then kept guard in the town, theſe bold fellows, with all their party, got back into the caſtle in the middle of the day.

To repreſs theſe inſolent proceedings, Cromwell immediately after he had ſettled the reſt of the northern parts in peace and quietneſs, came himſelf before Pomfret; and having ordered the ſeveral

Cromwell marches to London.

poſts for a cloſe ſiege, which put a ſtop to their thus ranging abroad, he left major-general Lambert, who was juſt come out of Scotland, with a ſtrong party before it, to compleat the work, whilſt himſelf took his march directly for London.

'Twas in this his return from the north that he wrote the following letter.

SIR,

I Suppoſe it is not unknown to you how much the country is in arrear to the garriſon of Hull, as likewiſe how probable it is that the garriſon will break, unleſs ſome ſpeedy courſe be taken to get them money, the ſoldiers at the preſent being ready to mutiny, as not having money to buy them bread; and without money the ſtubborn town's-people will not truſt them with the worth of a penny. Sir, I muſt beg of you, that as you tender the good of the country, ſo far as the ſecurity of that garriſon is mentioned, you would give your aſſiſtance to the helping them to their money which the country owes them. The governor will apply himſelf to you either in perſon or by letter. I pray you do for him herein as in a buſineſs of very high conſequence. I am the more earneſt with you, as having a very deep ſenſe how dangerous the event may be of their being neglected in the matter of their pay. I reſt upon your favour herein, and ſubſcribe myſelf,

SIR,

Your very humble ſervant,

Knottingly, Nov. 25, 1648. O. Cromwell.

For my noble friend, Thomas St. Nicholas, Eſq;

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

From the ſecond civil war, to the king's death.

BEFORE we proſecute our relation of the proceedings of Cromwell and the army, from his return out of Scotland, to the king's death, it will be neceſſary to look a little back, and ſee how matters were carried in the parliament.

Proceedings in the parliament.

Soon after the army was removed from London, by reaſon of the late inſurrections, thoſe of the ſecluded members who were in England, ventured to return to their former ſeats, and the Preſbyterians began to prevail again in the houſe; and Cromwell and the other officers who were members of the houſe, had not been long abſent before the common-council of the city thought fit to preſent a petition to the parliament for a perſonal treaty with the king, as the only way to reſtore the nation to a happy peace. This appeared ſo much to be the ſenſe of the city, that the parliament durſt not poſitively reject it; and indeed the greateſt part of them did at this time very much deſire the ſame thing. Hereupon Sir Henry Vane, with the reſt of the army-party in the houſe, were forced to contrive ſome ſpecious way to delay it, by ſeeming to conſent to it. And ſo a committee of the commons being appointed to confer with a committee of the city, about means to provide for the king's ſafety during the time of the treaty, the former perplexed the other with various queſtions, to which they knew there could be no anſwer given without firſt calling another common-council to receive further inſtructions. By this device, and by ſtarting new queſtions at every meeting, much time was ſpent, and the deſired delays obtained. However, the parliament at laſt declared, "That they would enter into a perſonal treaty with his majeſty for ſettling the peace of the kingdom; and

that the treaty ſhould be in the iſle of Wight, where his majeſty ſhould enjoy honour, freedom and ſafety." And commiſſioners were ſent from both houſes to inform the king, "That the parliament deſired a treaty with his majeſty upon the propoſitions tendered to him at Hampton-Court, and ſuch others as ſhould be preſented to him."

They were no ſooner returned from the iſle of Wight with the king's anſwer, but the parliament had notice of the defeat of the Scotch army; and Cromwell had written to his friends, "That it would be ſuch a perpetual ignominy to the parliament, that no body abroad or at home would ever give credit to them, if they ſhould recede from their former vote and declaration of no more addreſſes to the king; conjuring them to continue firm in that reſolution." But the parliament had made too great a ſtep to go back from what they were now upon; and ſince the firſt motion for a treaty, many abſent members reſorted to the houſe, and promoted the deſign; ſo that they were much more numerous than thoſe who laboured to obſtruct it: And ſo, notwithſtanding all oppoſition, it was declared, "That the votes of no-addreſſes ſhould ſtand repealed; that the treaty ſhould be at Newport; and that his majeſty ſhould be there with the ſame freedom, as when he was at Hampton-Court; that the inſtructions given to colonel Hammond, for the more ſtrict confining him, ſhould be recalled; and that all whom the king had named, ſhould have liberty to repair to him, and remain with him undiſturbed." Then they nominated five lords and ten of the houſe of commons to be their commiſſioners to treat with the king, and ordered them to haſten the treaty with all poſſible expedition: But Sir Henry Vane being one of them, uſed all his arts to delay it, as he had done before with the parliament, in hopes that Cromwell would finiſh matters in Scotland time enough

enough to return, and to uſe more effectual means to obſtruct it, than he was furniſhed with. Cromwell was very well appriſed of theſe proceedings, which made him think, that his preſence at the parliament was ſo neceſſary to reſtrain the Preſbyterians, who ceaſed not to vex him at any diſtance, that he would not be prevailed with to tarry and finiſh that only difficult work which remained, viz. the reducing Pomfret-Caſtle; but leaving it to Lambert, continued his march for London, as before related.

Forty days were appointed for the treaty; which being expired, and all men thinking the treaty was ended, the commiſſioners received new orders and inſtructions to enlarge it fourteen days longer, and after that to continue it four days more, and laſt of all one day more: After which the commiſſioners returned; and whilſt their report was under conſideration in the houſe, the large remonſtrance of the army was brought from the head-quarters, which was now at Windſor, to the houſe of commons; in which they deſired, "That the parliament would lay aſide all further proceedings in this treaty, and return to their vote of no-addreſſes; that the king might come no more to government, but be brought to juſtice, as the capital cauſe of all the evils in the kingdom; that a day might be ſet for the prince and the duke of York to appear, and anſwer to ſuch things as might be laid to their charge; and if they failed herein, they might be declared traitors: That an end might be put to this parliament, and new repreſentatives of the people choſen, for the governing and preſerving the whole body of the nation: That no king might be hereafter admitted, but upon election of, and in truſt for the people, &c. In concluſion, they preſs theſe things, as good for this and other kingdoms, and hope it will not be taken ill, becauſe from an army, and ſo ſervants, when their maſters

The army preſent their large remonſtrance.

maſters are ſervants, and truſtees for the kingdom."

Great conteſts between the parliament and the army.

This remonſtrance put the houſe into a great confuſion; but that which occaſioned the greateſt conſternation, was the news from the iſle of Wight, that Hammond was diſcharged, and col. Ewer had carried away the king to Hurſt-Caſtle. Upon this, the houſe, which was then in the heat of the debate upon the king's anſwer, immediately deſiſted, and voted, "That the carrying the king to Hurſt-Caſtle, was without their advice and conſent;" and ſent a letter to the general, "That the orders and inſtructions to colonel Ewer were contrary to thoſe given to colonel Hammond; and therefore it was the pleaſure of the houſe, that he ſhould recal theſe orders, and that colonel Hammond ſhould again reſume the care of the king's perſon." But the general (who hitherto agreed in every thing with the army) in return, demanded the arrears due to the army; and declared, That unleſs there was preſent money ſent for that purpoſe, he ſhould be obliged to remove the army nearer to London. The ſame time the army ſent a new declaration to the houſe in purſuance of their late remonſtrance; which the houſe refuſed to take into conſideration; and ſome reſolute members moved, "That the army might be declared traitors, if they preſumed to march nearer London than they were at preſent; and that an impeachment of high-treaſon might be drawn up againſt the principal officers of it." Hereupon the general marched directly to London, and quartered at Whitehall; and other officers, with their troops in Durham-houſe, the Meuſe, Covent-garden, and St. James's; and to ſupply the preſent neceſſity, and prevent all inconveniences they ſent to the city for forty thouſand pounds to be iſſued out without delay for the army.

Not-

Notwithſtanding all this, the party in the houſe who were friends to the treaty, reſolved ſtill to exert themſelves; upon which there followed a violent ſtruggle between them and thoſe on the contrary ſide, which continued a whole day and night together: And about five in the morning, Dec. 5, they firſt put the queſtion, "Whether the queſtion ſhould be put?" and carried it by a hundred and forty voices againſt a hundred and four; ſo that they paſſed the grand queſtion, and voted without dividing, "That his majeſty's conceſſions to the propoſitions upon the treaty, were ſufficient grounds for the parliament to proceed upon for the ſettlement of the peace of the kingdom." And to prevent any after-claps, they appointed a committee to confer with the general, for the better procuring a good intelligence and correſpondence between the army and the parliament; and then adjourned till the next morning.

The officers and army finding the parliament thus reſolute in oppoſing their deſigns, and that their coming into the city was not a ſufficient check upon them, reſolved now to exert themſelves to purpoſe. Accordingly ſome regiments of horſe and foot being ſent to Weſtminſter, they ſet guards upon all the avenues to the parliament-houſe, and ſeized upon one-and-forty of the members, as they were entering. And as they made priſoners of theſe, ſo about an hundred more were denied entrance into the houſe; whereupon the reſt of the Preſbyterian party being ſomewhat diſmayed at the treatment of their fellow-members, declined coming to the houſe, leaving it to the poſſeſſion of about an hundred and fifty; who being for the moſt part officers of the army, were diſpoſed to do every thing according to the direction of their leaders.

The army having thus purged the houſe from all they either knew or ſuſpected to be enemies to their deſigns, lieutenant-colonel Axtel came in, and preſented

preſented to the remaining members the propoſals of the army, ſetting forth, "That they had for a long while ſadly beheld and taſted, in their proceedings, the miſerable effects of counſels divided and corrupted by faction, and perſonal intereſt; and deſiring, that all faithful members would acquit themſelves by a proteſtation of their not concurring in the late proceedings, and would then ſpeedily and vigorouſly proceed to take order for the execution of juſtice."

Cromwell arrives, and receives the thanks of the houſe.

The night after this interruption was given to the houſe, lieutenant-general Cromwell arrived in town, and lay at White-hall; and the next day taking his place in parliament, he had the hearty thanks of the houſe given him for his great and faithful ſervices performed for the nation; which he received with the greateſt appearance of humility (as he was uſed to do) not taking to himſelf the leaſt of all thoſe great things performed by him, but aſcribing them wholly to God, the giver of all victory.

Cromwell, though abſent, is generally ſuppoſed to have influenced in all the late proceedings, and to be the chief promoter of them. It is ſaid, that at the leaguer before Pomfret, he induced all the regiments under him to petition againſt the treaty, and for juſtice on the king; that it was by his advice and direction that the remonſtrance of the army was drawn up and preſented to the houſe; and ſome ſay, that it was he that ſent colonel Ewer to remove the king to Hurſt caſtle. It is certain, that both he and his ſon-in-law Ireton had a very great influence upon the general, and could manage him almoſt in every thing as they pleaſed. However it was, Cromwell, upon his arrival, declared at Whitehall, and other places, "That he had not been acquainted with the deſign (of the army's interrupting the houſe); yet ſince it was done, he was glad of it, and would endeavour to maintain it."

The

The remnant of the houſe of commons immediately renewed their votes of Non-addreſſes to the king, and annulled all thoſe that introduced and ſucceeded the treaty; and particularly reſolved, "That the king's anſwer to their propoſitions was not ſatisfactory." Soon after it was moved in the houſe, to proceed capitally againſt the king, when Cromwell ſtood up and declared, "That if any man moved this upon deſign, he ſhould think him the greateſt traitor in the world; but ſince providence and neceſſity had caſt them upon it, he would pray God to bleſs their counſels, tho' he was not provided on the ſudden to give them counſel." On December 16th, a party of horſe was ſent over to Hurſt-caſtle, to bring the king to Windſor; who lay at Farnham on the 22d, and was delivered up at Windſor caſtle the day following, colonel Harriſon commanding the guards about him. Soon after, the council of war ordered, "That nothing ſhould be done upon the knee to the king; that all ceremonies of ſtate uſed to him ſhould be left off, and his attendance ſhould be with fewer perſons, and at leſs charge."

Cromwell's ſpeech upon the motion for trying the king.

The king brought to Windſor.

Next day the committee of the commons, which had been appointed to draw up a charge againſt the king, reported an ordinance "for impeaching Charles Stuart king of England of high-treaſon; and for trying him by commiſſioners to be nominated in the ſaid ordinance;" which being agreed to by the commons, was on January 2d, carried up to the lords for their concurrence. But upon their rejecting it, the commons paſſed theſe remarkable votes; Firſt, "That the people are, under God, the original of all juſt power." Secondly, "That the commons of England, being choſen by, and repreſenting the people, are the ſupreme power of the nation." Thirdly, "That whatſoever is enacted or declared for law, by the houſe of commons aſſembled in parliament, hath the force of law, tho'

Ordinance for trying him.

the conſent of the king and houſe of peers be not had thereunto."

High court of juſtice erected.

Then they proceeded to conſtitute and erect a court, to be called *the high court of juſtice*, which ſhould have authority to try the king, and to examine witneſſes for that purpoſe. The number of the commiſſioners nominated were a hundred and thirty-five, whereof twenty or more had power to proceed. They conſiſted promiſcuouſly of members of the houſe, officers of the army, citizens and country gentlemen. About fifty that were named, refuſed to act, of which number were the ſpeaker Lenthal, and general Fairfax. Of thoſe who acted, lieutenant-general Cromwell, and commiſſary-general Ireton were next the preſident. The commiſſioners made choice of ſerjeant Bradſhaw for that office, and nominated Mr. Steel to be attorney-general, Mr. Cook ſollicitor, Dr. Doriſlaus and Mr. Aſk to be pleaders againſt the king; and Weſtminſter-hall was appointed to be the place of trial: In order to which ſolemn tranſaction, the king was brought from Windſor to St. James's by colonel Harriſon.

The king removed from Windſor to St. James's.

On the way Harriſon obſerved, that the king was under an apprehenſion of a fixed purpoſe to murder him; and that he let fall ſome words "of the odiouſneſs and wickedneſs of ſuch an aſſaſſination, which could never be ſafe to the perſon who undertook it:" Whereupon he took occaſion to aſſure him, "That he needed not to entertain any ſuch imagination; that the parliament had too much honour and juſtice to cheriſh ſo foul an intention; that what whatever the parliament reſolved to do would be very public, and in a way of juſtice, to which the world ſhould be witneſs; and that they would never endure a thought of ſecret violence." But his majeſty could not believe him; nor did he imagine they would ever venture to

proceed

proceed againſt him in the way of a public trial, before all the people.

All the king's friends both at home and abroad now gave him for loſt; and yet they did not neglect to make their utmoſt efforts to ſave him. The ſtates-general ordered their ambaſſador to repreſent to the parliament, that the courſe they were going to take with the king, would be a laſting reproach to the Proteſtant intereſt. The prince of Wales, and prince of Orange, daily ſent, as agents, the kindred and relations of Cromwell, Ireton, and other judges appointed to try his majeſty, with commiſſion to offer any thing, and to make any promiſes to ſave his life, or at leaſt to put off the judgment: And the prince wrote a very pathetical letter to general Fairfax, in his father's behalf. The duke of Richmond, the marquis of Hertford, the earls of Lindſey and Southampton, as is ſaid, generouſly offered their own heads to ſave the king, and would have undertook to ſuffer in his ſtead for whatever he had done amiſs. Almoſt all the Preſbyterian miniſters in the city, and very many out of the country, and ſome even of the Independents, declared againſt the deſign in their ſermons, in petitions, proteſtations, and public remonſtrances. And the Scots at the ſame time ſent commiſſioners in great haſte, to declare and proteſt againſt this unheard-of attempt. Endeavours to ſave him.

Theſe commiſſioners, as biſhop Burnet informs us, came alſo to Cromwell to argue the matter with him. They highly blamed indeed many of the king's actions, and in a heavy languid ſtyle charged him with very great crimes: But ſtill they inſiſted on that clauſe in the covenant, whereby they ſolemnly ſwore they would be faithful in the preſervation of his majeſty's perſon: Upon which they obſerved, on what conditions Scotland, as well as the parliament of England, had engaged in the war; and what ſolemn declarations of their zeal and duty Conference between Cromwell and the Scotch commiſſioners about him.

to his majeſty they had all along made; which would now be found, to the ſcandal and reproach of the Chriſtian name, to have been falſe pretences, if now the king was in their hands, they ſhould proceed to extremities. Hereupon Cromwell held a long diſcourſe with them concerning the nature of the regal power; and declared it was his opinion, that a breach of truſt in a king, deſerved greater puniſhment than any other crime. And then, as to their covenant, he ſaid, they ſwore to preſerve the king's perſon in defence of the true religion; ſo that if it was manifeſt, that the eſtabliſhing of the true religion was hindered by the king, ſo that it could not be effected without removing him, then their oaths could not oblige them to the preſerving him any longer. He further ſaid, they were bound by their covenant to bring all malignants, incendiaries, and enemies to the cauſe, to condign puniſhment; and was not this to be executed impartially? What were all thoſe on whom public juſtice had taken place, eſpecially thoſe who ſuffered for joining Montroſs, but ſmall offenders, who had acted by commiſſion from the king, who was therefore the principal, and ſo the moſt guilty? Thus Cromwell had manifeſtly the better of them at their own weapons, and upon their own principles.

The trial of the king.

All endeavours being ineffectual, and the court having finiſhed all the neceſſary preparations, the king's trial began on Saturday the 20th of January. The ſubſtance of the charge againſt him was, "That he had endeavoured to ſet up a tyrannical power, and to that end had raiſed and maintained in the land a cruel war againſt the parliament; whereby the country had been miſerably waſted, the public treaſure exhauſted, thouſands of people had loſt their lives, and innumerable other miſchiefs committed." The commiſſioners for trying him being met in Weſtminſter Hall on the foreſaid day, the court ordered the ſerjeant at arms to ſend

for

for their priſoner from Sir Robert Cotton's houſe, whither he had been removed; who accordingly was brought up in the face of the court by colonel Tomlinſon, under a ſtrong guard, and delivered to the ſerjeant at arms, who conducted him to the bar, where a crimſon velvet chair was placed for him. Having heard his charge read, he refuſed to plead to it, either guilty or not guilty, till he ſhould know by what lawful authority he was brought thither; and the anſwer given not ſatisfying him, he perſiſted in that refuſal. The ſame he did on Monday January 22d, when he was a ſecond time brought before the court; as alſo the next day, being the third time. Finally, on January 27th, the king being a fourth time brought into the court, deſired, before ſentence was paſſed againſt him, to be heard before the lords and commons in the *painted chamber*; with deſign, as 'tis thought, to have reſigned his crown to his ſon, the prince of Wales: Upon which the judges retired for half an hour to conſider of his requeſt; and then returning, they ordered the king to be brought again to the bar; when the preſident told him, that what he had propoſed was but a further denial of the juriſdiction of the court, and tended to the delay of juſtice; and if he had no more to ſay, they would proceed to judgment. And the king anſwering, he had no more to ſay, Bradſhaw made a long harrangue in vindication of the parliament's proceedings, grounding his diſcourſe moſtly on this principle, "That the people have the ſupreme power, and the houſe of commons is the people." This ſpeech being ended, and the charge again recited, ſentence was pronounced in theſe words; "For all which treaſons and crimes, this court doth adjudge, that the ſaid Charles Stuart, as a tyrant, traitor, murderer, and public enemy, ſhall be put to death, by the ſevering his head from his body."

He is condemned.

Though

Though the king was condemned, and there appeared no hope of ſaving his life, yet ſtill endeavours were not wanting for that purpoſe. The following ſtory is told on this occaſion, That col. John Cromwell, a near relation of the great Oliver, came to town about this time, with credential letters from the States of Holland, whereto was added a blank, with the king's ſignet, and another of the prince's, both confirmed by the States, for Cromwell to ſet down his own conditions, if he would now ſave his majeſty's life. The colonel went directly to his kinſman's houſe, who was ſo retired and ſhut up in his chamber, with an order to let none know he was at home, that it was with much difficulty he obtained admittance, after he had told who he was. Having mutually ſaluted each other, the colonel deſired to ſpeak a few words with him in private; and began with much freedom to ſet before him the heinouſneſs of the fact, then about to be committed, and with what deteſtation it was looked upon abroad, telling him, "That of all men living, he could never have imagined, he would have had any hand in it, who, in his hearing, had proteſted ſo much for the king." To this Cromwell anſwered, "It was not he but the army; and tho' he did once ſay ſome ſuch words, yet now times were altered, and providence ſeemed to order things otherwiſe." And it is ſaid, he added, "That he had prayed and faſted for the king, but no return that way was yet made to him." Upon this the colonel ſtepped a little back, and ſuddenly ſhut the door, which made Cromwell apprehend he was going to be aſſaſſinated; but the other pulling out his papers, ſaid to him, "Couſin, this is no time to trifle with words: See here, it is now in your own power not only to make yourſelf, but your family, relations and poſterity, happy and honourable for ever; otherwiſe, as they have changed their name before from Williams to Cromwell, ſo now they muſt

Cromwell's kinſman ſent to him, in behalf of the king.

muſt be forced to change it again; for this fact will bring ſuch an ignominy upon the whole generation of them, that no time will be able to deface." At this Cromwell pauſed a little, and then ſaid, "Couſin, I deſire you will give me till night to conſider of it, and do you go to your inn, and not to bed, till you hear from me." The colonel did accordingly, and about one in the morning a meſſenger came to tell him, "He might go to reſt, and expect no other anſwer to carry to the prince; for the council of officers had been ſeeking God, (a phraſe, it ſeems, very much in uſe at that time) as he alſo had done the ſame, and it was reſolved by them all, that the king muſt die."

A commitie was appointed by the high court of juſtice, to inſpect the parts about Whitehall for a convenient place for the king's execution. Having made their report, it was determined, that a ſcaffold ſhould be made near the banqueting-houſe for that purpoſe; and 'twas ordered to be covered with black. The ſame day, Jan. 29th, about threeſcore of the commiſſioners ſigned a warrant for the king's execuion, directing it to colonel Hacker, colonel Hunks, and colonel Phayer, or either of them. Cromwell's name ſtood the third in this warrant, Bradſhaw and lord Grey of Groby only ſtanding before him. The ſame day the king's children waited on him to take their leave of him. An extraordinary ambaſſador from the ſtates had his audience in the houſe of commons; whoſe errand was to intercede with them earneſtly for the king's life, and to maintain a good correſpondence between England and the United Provinces. The next day, being the 30th of January, about eight o'clock in the morning, his majeſty was with a guard brought from St. James's through the park to Whitehall; where having ſtaid about two hours in a private room, he was led to the ſcaffold out of a window of the banqueting-houſe: And having made a ſpeech,

The execution of the king.

ſpeech, and taken off his George, he kneeled down at the block, and the executioner at one blow ſevered his head from his body.

Captain Hewlet was condemned after the reſtoration, for cutting off the king's head, or at leaſt for being one of the perſons who ſtood maſked upon the ſcaffold, though ſeveral creditable witneſſes depoſed that Gregory Brandon, the common hangman, had confeſſed and owned that he executed the king, and that he affirmed as much to the lord Capel, when he ſuffered by the ſame ax; and capt. Hewlet offered to make it appear, that he was not then upon the ſcaffold, nor near it, nay, that he even was actually ſeized and ſecured for refuſing to be there. Notwithſtanding this, Hewlet was found guilty by the jury, but was reprieved: And if we may believe what Lilly writes in his own life, it was the reſolute Joyce (who ſeized the king at Holmby) that ſtruck the fatal ſtroke. The account that Lilly gives, is as follows. "The next Sunday but one after Charles the Firſt was beheaded, Robert Spavin, ſecretary to lieut.-gen. Cromwell, invited himſelf to dine with me, and brought Anthony Pierſon and ſeveral others along with him to dinner. Their principal diſcourſe was, who it was that beheaded the king: One ſaid, it was the common hangman; another, Hugh Peters; others were alſo nominated, but none concluded. Robert Spavin, as ſoon as dinner was done, took me by the hand, and carrying me to the ſouth window, ſaid, 'Theſe are all miſtaken, they have not nam'd the man that did the fact; it was lieutenant-colonel Joyce: I was in the room when he fitted himſelf for the work, ſtood behind him when he did it, and, when done, went in again with him. There's no man knows this but my maſter Cromwell, commiſſary Ireton, and myſelf."

His behaviour and character.

The king, in all his ſufferings, ſhewed a calm and compoſed firmneſs, which amazed all people; and

and the rather, becauſe 'twas not natural to him. He had many indignities offered to him, eſpecially during his trial; but he bore them all with a true greatneſs of mind, without diſorder, or any kind of affectation. Thus, as biſhop Burnet obſerves, he died greater than he lived, and ſhewed that, which has been often remarked of the whole family of the Stuarts, they bore misfortunes better than proſperity. He was a prince of great devotion and piety, remarkable for his temperance and chaſtity, and an utter enemy to all kind of debauchery; and if he had any perſonal faults, they were much overweighed by his virtues. Happy were it for him, if his government had been as free from blame. The rock on which he ſplit was an immoderate deſire of power, beyond what the conſtitution allowed. His reign, both in peace and war was a continued ſeries of errors: He was out of meaſure bent on following his humour; but unreaſonably feeble to thoſe whom he truſted, eſpecially the queen. His friends regretted the aſcendant ſhe had over him on many occaſions; and others taxed him with the character of an uxorious huſband. He had certainly a fixed averſion to popery; but was much inclined to a middle way between the Proteſtants and Papiſts; whereby he loſt the one, without gaining the other. In ſhort, his whole conduct was ſuch, as verified this maxim, "That errors in government have ruined more princes than perſonal vices."

How far his death may be imputed to Cromwell.

Thus have we got over this dark ſcene in which our lieutenant-general is commonly ſuppoſed to be chiefly concerned. But as 'tis not ſtrange he ſhould, if the ſtory of the king's dealing deceitfully with him be true; ſo it may more reaſonably be concluded, that his ſon-in-law Ireton, rather than he, was the perſon who chiefly influenced in theſe proceedings. I know Ireton is ſuppoſed all along to have acted by Cromwell's directions; but whether

he did or no, may, I think, in many caſes, be juſtly queſtioned. Ireton was certainly a zealous commonwealth's-man, which party was always averſe to any treaty with the king; and though he with Cromwell was in ſuch a treaty, yet Ludlow thinks he never really intended to cloſe with the king; but only to lay his party aſleep, whilſt they were conteſting with the Preſbyterian intereſt in parliament; but he ſays no ſuch thing of Cromwell, who he ſeems all along to be angry with, for his deſign of making an agreement with the king, being himſelf utterly averſe to it, and ſuppoſing Cromwell's main end was to gratify his own ambition; which is not unlikely; and yet he might have been in earneſt in the treaty, and alſo have deſigned the publick good. Cromwell was certainly no commonwealth's-man, though he was forced to humour, and in many things actually to comply with the party; and as the agitators, and their offspring the levellers, who were no other than the commonwealth's-men in the army, and whom it is likely Cromwell at firſt might make uſe of to bring about ſome of his deſigns, were the original contrivers and chief actors in the king's death; ſo whatever hand Cromwell had in it, ſeems to be chiefly owing to their fury and deſperate reſolutions, which made him apprehenſive of the greateſt danger, if he did not comply with their deſigns; though at the ſame time, the contradictions that appeared in the king's conduct, might the more eaſily incline him to join purpoſes with them. In ſhort, what with the danger that threatened his perſon, if he had perſiſted to oppoſe the deſigns of the levellers; what with the enthuſiaſm that was ſo habitual to him; and what with the conſideration of the king's paſt miſgovernment, which had been the original cauſe of all the evils the nation had ſuffered, and the fear of the like happening for

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the future, if he ſhould be reſtored; he having diſcovered himſelf to be of a very inconſtant and wavering, not to ſay equivocating temper; Cromwell was at length ſo wrought upon, as to think it neceſſary, and ſo lawful, to take off the king; in which towards the laſt he ſeemed to be pretty active, tho' always in ſome doubt about it. We are expreſly told, he at firſt ſhewed ſome repugnance to ſo black an undertaking, as my author calls it, and ſeemed to ſhew his abhorrence of it, and not to ſurmount it, as he ſaid himſelf; but only becauſe he ſaw that the providence of God, and the neceſſity of the times, had inſpired the army to make ſo terrible a ſacrifice; but that that ſacrifice, after all, was the only one that could ſave the ſtate and religion. And I cannot here omit what biſhop Burnet ſays of this matter: He tells us, that Ireton was the perſon that drove on the king's trial and and death, and that Cromwell was all the while in ſome ſuſpenſe about it. "Ireton, ſays he, had the principles of a Caſſius in him: He ſtuck at nothing that might have turned England to a commonwealth; and he found out Cook and Bradſhaw, two bold lawyers, as proper inſtruments for managing it." and we are informed by others, that Ireton was the perſon who wrought upon Fairfax, and managed the affair of the army's remonſtrance, and purging the parliament, and brought it about. To conclude, tho' I am far from pretending to juſtify the whole of Cromwell's conduct in theſe extraordinary tranſactions; yet I cannot but think, that a greater load of guilt and infamy is uſually laid to his ſhare, than he really deſerved.

1648.

THE

THE LIFE OF OLIVER CROMWELL.

PART II.

Containing an Account of his ACTIONS, and BEHAVIOUR, from the Time of the KING's Death, to the forcible Diſſolution of the Long PARLIAMENT.

CHAP. I.

From the KING's *death, to* CROMWELL's *arrival in Ireland.*

1648. HAVING ſeen the actions of this wonderful man, during the life of king Charles, let us now view him under the commonwealth government: But firſt it may be proper to obſerve how this government was eſtabliſhed. The firſt thing the parliament (for ſo the remnant of the houſe of commons now called themſelves) did after the king's death, was to paſs an act, ordaining, "That no perſon whatſoever do preſume to proclaim, declare, publiſh, or any ways pro-

A commonwealth government ſet up.

mote Charles Stuart, ſon of the late Charles, commonly called the prince of Wales, or any other perſon, to be king or chief magiſtrate of England or Ireland, &c. without the free conſent of the people in parliament firſt had, and ſignified by a particular act or ordinance for that purpoſe; under pain of being adjudged a traitor." Then they made another act, "That ſuch as had aſſented to the vote, 'That the king's conceſſions were a ground for the houſe to proceed to a ſettlement,' ſhould not be re-admitted to ſit as members." Theſe therefore were commonly called the ſecluded members.

Soon after, Feb. 5. they voted, "the houſe of Peers to be uſeleſs and dangerous," and an act was accordingly paſſed, "for aboliſhing it," tho' Cromwell is ſaid to have appeared for them. And to remove all that ſtood in the way of their deſigned commonweath, they reſolved and declared, "That it had beeen found by experience, that the office of a king in this nation, was unneceſſary, burdenſome, and dangerous to the liberty, ſafety, and publick intereſt of the nation; and therefore it ſhould be utterly aboliſhed." Then the form of government was declared to be a *Commonwealth*; and a council of ſtate was appointed, conſiſting of forty perſons, whereof Cromwell was one; to whom power was given to command and ſettle the militia of England and Ireland; to order the fleet, and ſet forth ſuch a naval power as they ſhould think fit; to appoint magazines and ſtores for England and Ireland, and to diſpoſe of them for the ſervice of both nations, as they thought proper. And they were to ſit and execute theſe powers for the ſpace of one whole year. And now all writs formerly running in the king's name, were to be iſſued out in the names of *the keepers of the liberty of* England. And a new oath, or engagement, was prepared, "to be true and faithful to the government eſtabliſhed without king or houſe of peers;"

all

all who refuſed to take it, to be uncapable of holding any place or office in church or ſtate. If the reader is curious of knowing what perſons compoſed the council of ſtate for this firſt year, they were as follows: John Bradſhaw, Eſq; preſident, earl of Denbigh, earl of Mulgrave, earl of Pembrok, earl of Saliſbury, lord Grey, lord Grey of Groby, lord Fairfax, John Liſle, Eſq; —— Rolles, Eſq; Oliver St. John, Eſq; John Wild, Eſq; Bulſtrode Whitelock, Eſq; lieutenant-general Cromwell, major-general Skippon, Sir Gilbert Pickering, Sir William Maſſam, Sir Arthur Haſlerigg, Sir James Harrington, Sir Henry Vane, jun. Sir John Danvers, Sir William Armine, Sir Henry Mildmay, Sir William Conſtable, Alexander Popham, William Purefoy, Iſaac Pennington, Rowland Wilſon, Edmund Ludlow, William Heveningham, Robert Wallop, Henry Marten, Anthony Stapley, John Hutchinſon, Valentine Walton, Thomas Scot, Dennis Bond, Luke Robinſon, John Jones, and Cornelius Holland, Eſqrs.

Another High Court of Juſtice.

The new commonwealth being thus ſettled and ſecured, another High Court of Juſtice is now erected for the trial of delinquents. Before this court the duke of Hamilton, the earl of Holland, the earl of Norwich, the lord Capel, and Sir John Owen, being brought, received ſentence of death, for being concerned in the late invaſion and inſurrections. After judgment given they petitioned the commons; and ſo their reprieve or their execution was put to the vote of the houſe; and duke Hamilton, and the lord Capel were caſt, and Sir John Owen ſaved, by a conſiderable majority; as the earl of Holland was caſt, and the earl of Norwich ſaved, by the ſingle vote of the ſpeaker, the houſe being before equally divided as to them; ſo that Hamilton, Holland and Capel, were ſoon after beheaded in the palace-yard at Weſtminſter. It muſt be remembered here, that when the lord Capel's petition, which his lady delivered, was

was read in the houſe, many ſpoke in his favour, and ſaid, that he had never deceived or betrayed them, but had always freely and reſolutely declared for the king: And Cromwell, who knew him very well, ſpoke ſo many things to his honour, and profeſſed ſo much reſpect for him, that all believed he was ſafe, till he concluded, "That his affection for the public ſo out-weighed his private friendſhip, that he could not but tell them, that the queſtion was now, "Whether they would preſerve the moſt bitter and moſt implacable enemy they had: That he knew well, that the lord Capel would be the laſt man in England, that would abandon the royal intereſt; that he had great courage, induſtry and generoſity; that he had many friends who would always adhere to him; and that as long as he lived, what condition ſoever he was in, he would be a thorn in their ſides: And therefore, for the good of the common-wealth, he ſhould give his vote againſt the petition." It ought alſo to be remembered, that Sir John Owen's reprieve was owing in great meaſure to the generoſity and good nature of commiſſary-general Ireton, who obſerving there had been no application made, nor a word ſaid in behalf of Owen, ſpoke for him thus, as lord Clarendon tells us, "There have been great endeavours and ſolicitations uſed to ſave all thoſe lords; but there's a commoner, another condemned perſon, for whom no man hath ſaid a word, nor has he himſelf ſo much as petitioned: Therefore I deſire that Sir John Owen may be preſerved by the mere motive and goodneſs of the houſe;" which was aſſented to.

Cromwell's ſpeech againſt the lord Capel.

About this time, ſeveral things were declared by the parliament to be high-treaſon, and this among the reſt, viz. For any ſoldiers of the army to contrive the death of their general, or lieutenant-general; or endeavour to raiſe mutinies in the army.

A little

A private story of Cromwell and Ireton.

A little before this, Cromwell and his ſon-in-law Ireton went along with Whitelock from the council of ſtate, and ſupped at his houſe. Here they were very chearful, and ſeemed extremely well pleaſed; and related many wonderful obſervations of God's providence, in the courſe of the war, and in the affair of the army's coming to London, and ſeizing the members of the houſe. Having thus diſcourſed together till midnight, they returned home, and in their paſſage their coach was ſtopped, and they were examined by the guards. They preſently told their names; but the captain of the guards would not believe them, and threatened to carry theſe two great officers to the court of guard. Hereupon Ireton grew a little angry, but Cromwell made himſelf merry with the ſoldiers, gave them twenty ſhillings, and commended them and their captain for doing their duty. And they afterwards confeſſed that they knew Cromwell and Ireton well enough, and were more ſtrict with them than with others, to let them ſee they were careful of their duty; which they believed theſe great men came at that time on purpoſe to obſerve.

Freſh diſturbance in the army.

Matters being now brought to ſome degree of ſettlement, it was thought fit to aboliſh the council of agitators in the army; leſt they, who had been the chief authors in all the late changes, ſhould now take it in their heads to carry matters further than the preſent rulers cared they ſhould. But theſe agitators had taſted too much of power, to be willing to be ſtripped of it; but at the ſame time made a wrong computation of their own ſtrength by the great things they had formerly effected, not conſidering that their ſuperior officers were now wholly united with the parliament, and entirely concurred with them, in carrying on the ſame deſigns. They preſently drew up a petition to the lord-general Fairfax, and his council of officers, againſt the deſign of aboliſhing them; but by a council

council of war, the ſubſcribers of this petition were ſentenced to ride with their faces towards the horſes tails before the heads of their ſeveral regiments, with their faults written on their breaſts, to have their ſwords broken over their heads, and ſo to be caſhiered the army. Which ſentence was accordingly executed upon them in the Palace-yard at Weſtminſter, to the great exaſperation of the Levelling-party, who were reſolved not ſo to be ſuppreſſed.

Cromwell again ſuppreſſes the levellers.

For not long after, there being a rendezvous at Ware, ſeveral regiments, among whom was Cromwell's of horſe, in purſuance of the forementioned petition, and to be diſtinguiſhed from others, wore white in their hats, as they had done once before. Cromwell having notice of the deſign, ordered two regiments of horſe from diſtant quarters, who knew nothing of this combination, to appear there likewiſe. Being all drawn up, Cromwell, with an angry and down look, rides round, and on a ſudden commands one of thoſe two regiments to encompaſs a regiment of foot; which being done accordingly, he called four men by their names out of the body, and with his own hands committed them to the marſhal; and immediately calling a council of war (whilſt the reſt of their confederates ſlunk their white colours into their pockets, and trembled at this boldneſs of Cromwell) tried and condemned them. But they had the favour from the court of caſting lots for their lives, two only to die; and the two whoſe lot it was to die, were preſently ſhot to death upon a green bank by the other two in ſight of the army. A little before, another leveller, one Lockyer, a trooper, for promoting the engagement and agreement, was ſhot to death in St. Paul's Church-yard.

Notwithſtanding theſe executions, this humour ſtill continued in the army, and began to break out with greater violence, upon the parliament's

voting, that eleven regiments, by lot, ſhould be ſent over to Ireland. This enraged them to that degree, that, finding that inſtead of reaping the advantages they had promiſed themſelves, they were to be expoſed to freſh hazards, and the miſeries of a ſtarving war, they peremptorily declared againſt it, as a purpoſed contrivance to decide them, and gave out, that they would not go for Ireland, till the liberties of the people, for which they firſt engaged in war, were ſecured; requiring, That the often promiſed *repreſentative* of the nation might be choſen. And finding that diſcourſes and repreſentations were to no purpoſe, they began to have recourſe to arms. Accordingly colonel Scroop's regiment, having laid aſide their officers, marched with twelve troops from their quarters at Saliſbury, towards Burford in Oxfordſhire, in order to a conjunction with thoſe of Harriſon, Ireton and Skippon, and a party under one Thompſon, then lying near Banbury. This they had effected, if the extraordinary diligence of Cromwell and Fairfax had not prevented them: For poſting forty miles in one day, they overtook them at Abingdon, and firſt offered them a treaty, wherein ſatisfaction might be mutually given; and till that were done, that neither party might come within ten miles of each other; to which they agreed: But the Levellers under Thompſon, who had increaſed their numbers to about five thouſand, marched to Burford; where, while they were ſecurely reſting themſelves, and their horſes put into the adjoining meadows, about twelve o'clock at night colonel Reynolds fell into their quarters, routed them, and took four hundred of them priſoners, and nine hundred of their horſes. Thompſon took ſhelter in a wood near Milton, where he fought manfully till he was ſlain. Of the priſoners three only were executed, who died very reſolutely. Cornet Den expreſſing his grief and ſorrow, was reprieved at the inſtant of execution; which

which his companions beholding from the leads of the church, were ſaluted with a meſſage of decimation, *i. e.* that every tenth man ſhould die: But at Cromwell's deſire they were all pardoned, and ſent home to their own houſes. Thus was this inſurrection quelled on the 15th day of May. 1649 15 May

After this, the lord-general Fairfax and lieutenant-general Cromwell viſited Oxford, (the univerſity having ſent a deputation to invite them thither) where they were nobly treated, and made doctors of the civil law; at which time alſo, Sir Hardreſs Waller and Mr. Ruſhworth, with eight colonels, were created maſters of arts. Then they viſited Portſmouth, from whence they returned to London in triumph, and received new marks of honour from the parliament. And now, to promote a laſting union between the three principles of power, the parliament, the army, and the city, it was contrived, that the ſpeaker, with the houſe, the general, with the chief officers, and the council of ſtate, ſhould, after hearing two ſermons, be magnificently feaſted at Grocers-hall, by the lord-mayor, aldermen, and common-council. This was accordingly done on the 7th of June; the lord-mayor, as it was uſual towards kings, meeting Lenthal the ſpeaker, with the reſt of the members, at Temple-bar, and there reſigning the ſword to him; which having again received, he carried before him into the city. And having heard two ſermons at Chriſt-church, preached by Mr. Goodwin and Dr. Owen, they proceeded to Grocers-hall to dinner. The ſpeaker ſat firſt; next to him the lord-mayor; then the earl of Pembroke called the lord commiſſioner Whitelock to ſit down, as the eldeſt commiſſioner of the Great-ſeal: Whitelock excuſed it, and deſired the earl to ſit down firſt: But he ſaid aloud, "What, do you think I will ſit down before you? I have given place heretofore to biſhop Williams, to my lord Coventry, and to my lord Littleton; 7 June

and you have the ſame place they had; and as much honour belongs to the place under a commonwealth, as under a king; and you are a gentleman as well born and bred as any of them." The earl obliged Whitelock to take precedure of him, and then ſat down himſelf next to him; then the lord preſident of the council of ſtate and the other commiſſioners of the Great-ſeal; then the earl of Saliſbury and the lord Howard; after them lieutenant-general Cromwell, and other members of parliament, and of the council of ſtate, &c. The muſic at this feaſt, which was very ſumptuous, was only drums and trumpets; no healths were drank, nor any incivility paſſed. At this entertainment, there was preſented by the city to the lord-general a large and weighty baſon and ewer of beaten gold; and to lieutenant-general Cromwell three hundred pounds in plate, and two hundred pieces of gold.

Cromwell was now juſt entering upon a new ſcene of action, and making preparations for the reducing of Ireland to the power of the new commonwealth: But before we preſcribe his memorable exploits in that kingdom, it will be proper to take a ſhort view of the poſture of affairs there for ſome time paſt, and the condition they were now in.

An account of the affairs of Ireland, before Cromwell's going over.

The Iriſh rebellion, the moſt barbarous and bloody that was ever executed in any part of the world, in which ſo many thouſand Proteſtants were moſt inhumanly maſſacred, broke out in October 1641, which tho' it had been contrived with ſuch ſecrecy, and acted with ſuch outrage, yet the city of Dublin was wonderfully preſerved by divine providence, to be an aſylum for ſuch as eſcaped thither, to avoid the fury of their bloody perſecutors. Many of the poor Proteſtants came over alſo into England, hoping there to find ſhelter from the mercileſs enemy: But this proved little comfort to thoſe diſtreſſed ſouls; for here they found, to the increaſe

increaſe of their grief, that England was preparing on all ſides to act the ſame upon one another, which the Papiſts had done againſt them in Ireland. But though the difference between the king and parliament increaſed every day; yet it was ſo ordered, that ſome regiments were ſent over into Ireland, to ſtop the proceedings of the rebels. After the war had been carried on for ſome time in England, the king finding his affairs in a declining condition, and that the parliament gained ground upon him, he in 1643, ordered the marquis of Ormond to make a truce with the Iriſh, that he might have the aſſiſtance of thoſe Engliſh forces that were in Ireland, in his war with the parliament. A ceſſation of arms was accordingly agreed upon; but the Iriſh infamouſly broke the articles of it: For the Engliſh being now gone over to England, they on a ſudden roſe againſt the marquis, and had ſurprized him, if he had not been informed before of their deſign, and eſcaped into Dublin: And being in no condition to defend it, but obliged to deliver it up either to the Engliſh ſent by the parliament, or to the Iriſh, he gave it up to the Engliſh (who made colonel Jones governor) and came over to the king, at what time he was carried from place to place by the army.

The marquis had not been long gone, but the treacherous Iriſh being terrified with the news, that the parliament was ſending over an army thither, requeſted the prince, to whom the marquis had repaired, to ſend him back, engaging themſelves to ſubmit abſolutely to his majeſty's authority, and to obey the marquis as his lieutenant, and join with him to expel the parliament's forces. The marquis being accordingly arrived, entered into moſt diſhonourable articles with the Iriſh, who having made a confederacy among themſelves, ſoon became more formidable by the acceſſion of the lord Inchiquin, preſident of Munſter, and the Scots in the province of Ulſter. Before the arrival of the marquis,

marquis, the Pope's nuncio, who had been ſent over to promote the grand rebellion, and had of late behaved himſelf ſo tyrannically, that he became intolerable even to the Iriſh themſelves, was expelled the kingdom: And now the royaliſts and Iriſh being united, Ireland ſeemed in a fair way of being entirely reduced to the king's obedience. But Owen Roe O'Neal, the beſt commander among the Iriſh, not liking the articles of the confederacy, refuſed to be included in it, and joining with the parliament's forces relieved Londonderry, then beſieged by the lord Ardes. Ormond, however, and the confederates having a numerous army, the whole kingdom was almoſt reduced by them, excepting Londonderry, governed by Sir Charles Coot, and Dublin the chief city, wherein was colonel Jones with no very conſiderable force, beſides that his men were frequently deſerting their colours. The enemy with their formidable army was now marching to beſiege it, and ſent many threatning ſummons, requiring a ſpeedy ſurrender of the place; which notwithſtanding, thro' the vigilance of the governor, held out to the confuſion of the beſiegers. But his preſent difficulties, and the great danger he was in, made him renew his inſtances to the parliament, in the moſt preſſing manner for ſpeedy ſupplies of men and proviſions; declaring, that elſe all would be loſt. Hereupon the parliament, not inſenſible of his condition, began to provide for the relief of Ireland with all poſſible expedition: And appointed commiſſary-general Ireton, colonel Scroop, colonel Horton, major-general Lambert, with their four regiments of horſe; colonel Ewer, colonel Cook, colonel Hewſon, and colonel Dean, with theirs of foot, and five troops of dragoons, all old ſoldiers of the Engliſh army, for the ſaid ſervice: And beſides theſe, other regiments were raiſed by beat of drum, to make up a ſufficient force for effectually carrying on ſo great a work.

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The forces being in a great degree of readineſs, the parliament began now to think of a general for this expedition; and having had ſufficient experience of Cromwell's great abilities, and knowing no man ſo fit for the employment, they deſired him to accept of it; who not without ſome ſeeming reluctancy at laſt undertook it, and after many humble expreſſions of his own unworthineſs and diſability to ſupport ſo great a charge, and of the entire reſignation of himſelf to their commands, and abſolute dependence upon God's providence, he acquainted them, that he ſubmitted to their good will and pleaſure, and deſired them to haſten all the neceſſary preparations; "For he confeſſed that kingdom to be reduced to ſo great ſtreights, that he was willing to engage his own perſon, purely for the difficulties which appeared in the expedition; and more out of hope to give ſome obſtruction to the preſent ſucceſs of the rebels, and to preſerve to the commonwealth ſome footing in that kingdom, than from any expectation that he ſhould be able, with his ſtrength, in any ſignal degree to prevail over them."

The houſe was ſo well pleaſed with this anſwer, that immediately after, on the 22d of June, he had a pompous commiſſion given him in Latin and Engliſh, to command all forces to be ſent into Ireland, and to be lord-governor both as to civil and military affairs in that kingdom, for three years: And colonel Jones was made lieutenant-general of the horſe. From the very minute of his receiving this charge, Cromwell uſed an incredible expedition in the raiſing of money, providing of ſhipping, and drawing the forces together for this enterprize. The ſoldiers marched with great ſpeed to the rendezvous at Milford-Haven, there to expect the new lord-deputy.

About this time, Cromwell had a remarkable interview with the lord Broghill; who having formed a deſign

a deſign of deſerting the parliament's ſervice, as the earl of Inchiquin had done, came privately to London, intending to go to the king in France. He was no ſooner come to London, but a gentleman came to him from the lord governor Cromwell, to acquaint him that he would pay him a viſit, if he knew when he would be at leiſure; at which Broghill was exceedingly ſurpriſed, having never had any acquaintance with him; and told the meſſenger he ſuppoſed he was miſtaken in the perſon he was ſent to: But the gentleman convincing him he was not, the lord Broghill owned who he was, and ſaid he would not give his excellency the trouble to come to him, but he would wait upon him. The meſſenger had not been long gone, before Cromwell came himſelf, and after compliments paſſed, deſired to ſpeak with his lordſhip in private; when he told him, "He had a great reſpect for him, and was therefore come to acquaint him with ſomething that very nearly concerned him, and to give him his advice upon it." He then told him, "That the council of ſtate were informed of his deſign in croſſing the water (which the lord Broghill had communicated to two or three truſty friends only) that inſtead of going to the Spaw he deſigned to go to the king, and take a commiſſion from him to act againſt the parliament in Ireland: That the council had proof of what he ſaid, and could produce copies of his letters to that purpoſe; upon which it was reſolved to ſend him to the Tower; which had been done, if himſelf had not prevented it, and obtained time to conſer with him, to ſee if he could be induced to alter his purpoſe." The lord Broghill ſeeing it would be to no purpoſe to evade the matter, aſked Cromwell's pardon, thanked him for his good offices, and requeſted him to adviſe him. Cromwell reply'd, "That the council of ſtate and he were no ſtrangers to his actions in Ireland; and the ſubduing of the rebels

being

being committed to him, he was authoriſed by the council to offer him a general command, if he would ſerve in that war." Broghill readily accepted this offer, and gave his word and honour that he would be faithful to the parliament: And ſo having received a commiſſion to be maſter of the ordnance, and to command in Munſter, he embarked for Ireland, where he was no ſooner arrived, but ſeveral gentlemen, who had ſerved under him in thoſe wars, joined him; ſo that he ſoon formed a troop of horſe, and within a little time after raiſed a regiment of 1500 foot, which were ready to join the lord governor Cromwell at his landing.

His excellency having diſpatched his buſineſs with the parliament, on the 10th of July left London, ſetting forward in great ſtate, being drawn in a coach with ſix horſes, and attended by many members of the parliament and council of ſtate, with the chief officers of the army; his life-guard conſiſting of eighty men, who had formerly been commanders, bravely mounted and accoutered, both themſelves and ſervants. Thus he was conducted to Brentford, where thoſe gentlemen who accompanied him, took their leaves, wiſhing a proſperous iſſue to this undertaking; whom he anſwered again with great civility and reſpect. From hence he poſted directly for Briſtol, to take order for the train of artillery, and many other matters neceſſary for the haſtening his men on ſhipboard.

10 July

His pompous march from London.

From Briſtol he takes his way into Wales, having ſent over three regiments before, viz. colonel Reynold's of horſe, colonel Venable's and colonel Monk's of foot. Theſe were ſhipped from Cheſter, and the ports thereabout; and being favoured with a proſperous gale, quickly arrived at the port of Dublin, where they were welcomed with unſpeakable joy and gladneſs. The citizens ſpared for nothing that might be any relief to the ſea-ſick ſol-

He ſends ſuccours before him.

diers, hoping that the recovery of their health might be a means of enlarging their liberties, who now were almoſt wholly confined within the narrow compaſs of their city walls. And they were not at all diſappointed of their expectation: For Jones, having his courage much heightened by the coming of theſe ſupplies, now cared not for the enemy's bravadoes, but reſolved to remove them farther off; which he in a very little time effected.

By which means Ormond's army is totally routed.

For on the 2d of Auguſt he diſcovered a party of the enemy, about fifteen hundred foot, beſides horſe, drawn down to their new work at Baggotrath, a place about a quarter of a mile eaſtward of the city upon the ſea. Hence they deſigned to run their trenches towards the city-works, thereby to ſecure thoſe forts which were begun to be raiſed towards the water, that they might hinder the landing of the forces and ſupplies expected from England. But Jones and Reynolds, with the reſt of the commanders in the city, obſerving the enemy's deſign, judged it neceſſary to interrupt them: And ſo preſently drawing out twelve hundred horſe and four thouſand foot, they ſoon entered the enemy's new works, and fell upon them with ſo much fury that they routed the horſe at the firſt charge; and ſoon after cut in pieces the greateſt part of their foot, and took moſt of the reſt priſoners. The report of this diſaſter ſoon reached the general Ormond's ears, who was then playing at tables in his tent; and underſtanding alſo that Jones was making towards his main army, "he wiſhed the rebels would come that he might have ſome ſport with them;" and ſo went on with his game: But he was ſoon forced to leave it; for Jones with his men following the chace to Rathmims, where Ormond's camp was, engaged his whole army, and after two hours fight, totally routed them, with a very great ſlaughter. Four thouſand were reckoned to be killed on the place and in the purſuit, and above two thouſand five hundred taken priſoners.

of

of whom ſeveral were men of quality, and amongſt the reſt Ormond's own brother, himſelf very narrowly eſcaping. They left all their great guns, ammunition, and proviſions behind them; and withal a rich camp to reward the valiant ſoldiers; who with the ſpoil of it ſo tricked themſelves up, that when they returned to Dublin, many of the officers did not know their own men, they were grown ſo fine. This great victory was obtained with the loſs of few, not above twenty of the parliament's party being miſſing after the fight was over. The ſucceſs was the more remarkable, becauſe unexpected on both ſides; Jones with his handful of men being led on ſtep by ſtep to a compleat victory, whereas their utmoſt deſign, at the beginning of the action, was only to beat the enemy from Baggot-rath. Ormond's party were ſo ſurprized, that they had not time to carry off their money, which lay at Rathfarnham, for the paying of their army, where Jones ſeized four thouſand pounds very ſeaſonably for the payment of his men. The marquis upon this defeat fled to Kilkenny with a conſiderable number: Others betook themſelves to Drogheda or Tredagh, whither he ſoon came himſelf with three hundred horſe, and in very good time; for lieutenant-general Jones, hoping the town might be ſo terrified with this overthrow as to ſurrender, haſtened thither with ſome horſe to ſummon it; but having notice of Ormond's coming, he marched back to Dublin.

The lord-governor Cromwell being at Milford-Haven, received the full account of Ormond's defeat, when he rather expected to hear of the loſs of Dublin, and was in great perplexity what to do. But the clouds being diſperſed upon the news of the great ſucceſs his party had that he ſent before, he deferred not to embark with his whole army. On the thirteenth of Auguſt he ſet ſail from Milford-Haven with thirty-two ſhips, wherein was the van of his army; Ireton ſoon following him

Cromwell embarks for Ireland.

with the main body in forty-two other veſſels, Hugh Peters with twenty ſail bringing up the rear. With a very proſperous wind they ſoon arrived at Dublin, where they were received with all poſſible demonſtrations of joy, the great guns echoing forth their welcome, and the acclamations of the people reſounding in every ſtreet. Cromwell being come into the city, where the concourſe of the people was very great (they all flocking to ſee him, whom before they had heard ſo much of) at a convenient place he made a ſtand, and with his hat in his hand made a ſpeech to them, telling them, "That as God had brought him thither in ſafety, ſo he doubted not but, by his divine providence, to reſtore them all to their juſt liberties and properties; and that all thoſe, whoſe hearts and affections were real for the carrying on of the great work againſt the barbarous and blood-thirſty Iriſh, and all their adherents and confederates, for the propagating the goſpel of Chriſt, the eſtabliſhing of truth and peace, and reſtoring that bleeding nation to its former happineſs and tranquility, ſhould find favour and protection from the parliament of England, and from himſelf, and withal receive ſuch rewards and gratuities, as ſhould be anſwerable to their merits." This ſpeech was entertained with great applauſe by the people, who all cried out, "That they would live and die with him."

CHAP. II.

His actions in Ireland, and return from thence.

THE army having refreſhed themſelves, and the lord-lieutenant having ſettled both the military and civil affairs of Dublin, he drew his forces out of the city to a general muſter, where appeared a compleat body of fifteen thouſand horſe and

and foot; out of which were drawn twelve regiments, containing in all about ten thouſand ſtout reſolute men, for the preſent ſervice. With this army, furniſhed with all things neceſſary, he advanced towards Tredagh, a town well fortified, with a garriſon in it of two thouſand five hundred foot, and three hundred horſe, the flower of the royal army, under the command of Sir Arthur Aſton, a brave experienced ſoldier. The marquis of Ormond had foreſeen that this place, by reaſon of its neighbourhood and ſituation, would be firſt attempted, it not being likely that the enemy would leave ſo conſiderable a fortreſs behind them; and he was in hopes he ſhould have time to recruit his ſhattered army, and repair the loſs of the late defeat, while Cromwell ſhould be waſting his forces againſt a town they believed could hold out a month, and before that time be relieved: But the event ſhewed how much he was miſtaken.

Cromwell was no ſooner come before Tredagh, but, obſerving the rules of war, he ſummoned the governor to ſurrender; which ſummons was ſlighted, and looked upon rather as a matter of formality, than that he did believe to have the town upon it. Hereupon the lord-governor ordered all things for a quick diſpatch of the ſiege. Ayſcough's ſhips blocked them up by ſea; and on the land, the white flag was taken down, and the red enſign diſplayed before the town. The beſieged were not much diſmayed at this, as expecting ſuccour from the marquis of Ormond; and they ſeemed to be unanimous in this reſolution, rather than deliver up the town, to expire with it; as they did not long after. Storms Tredagh.

For Cromwell being ſenſible of the miſchiefs of a long ſiege, like an impatient conqueror, would not ſpend time in the common forms of approaches and turnings; but immediately planted a ſtrong battery, which ſoon levelled the ſteeple of a church on

on the ſouth ſide of the town, and a tower that ſtood near it. The next day, the battery continuing, the corner tower between the eaſt and ſouth walls was demoliſhed, and two breaches made, which ſome regiments of foot immediately entered; but they were not made low enough for the horſe to go in with them. Here the utmoſt bravery was ſhewn on both ſides, the breaches being not more courageouſly aſſaulted than valiantly defended. The enemy within ſo furiouſly charged thoſe who firſt entered, that they drove them back again faſter than they came in. Cromwell, who was all this while ſtanding at the battery, obſerving this, drew out a freſh reſerve of colonel Ewer's foot, and in perſon bravely entered with them once more into the town. This example of their general inſpired the ſoldiers with ſuch freſh courage, that none were able to ſtand before them; and having now gained the town, they made a terrible ſlaughter, putting all they met with, that were in arms, to the ſword; Cromwell having expreſly commanded not to ſpare any one that ſhould be found in arms; the deſign of which was to diſcourage other places from making oppoſition; to which purpoſe the lord-governor wrote to the parliament, "That he believed this ſeverity would ſave much effuſion of blood." Aſton's men did not fall unrevenged, for they fought bravely, and deſperately diſputed every corner of the ſtreets, making the conquerors win what they had by inches. The ſtreets at laſt proving too hot, they fled to the churches and ſteeples, and other places of ſhelter. About an hundred were got into St. Peter's church-ſteeple, reſolving there to ſell their lives at as dear a rate as poſſible; but they were all quickly blown up with gun-powder, only one man eſcaping, who leaped from the tower: The wind befriending him, he received no further hurt by the fall than breaking his leg; which Cromwell's men ſeeing, took him

him up, and gave him quarter. In other places, when they refuſed to yield upon ſummons, ſtrong guards were immediately put upon them to ſtarve them out; which ſoon had that effect as to make them ſurrender themſelves to the mercy of the conquerors, which was indeed but ſmall; for all the officers were preſently knocked on the head, and every tenth man of the ſoldiers killed, and the reſt thruſt on ſhipboard for Barbadoes. The governor, Sir Arthur Aſton, here likewiſe met his fate, being put to the ſword among the reſt. And thus was this ſtrong place taken and ſacked in leſs than a week's time, which the rebellious Iriſh were three whole years in taking. This great action was ſo ſurpriſing, that O'Neal, at the hearing of it, ſwore a great oath, "That if Cromwell had taken Tredagh by ſtorm, if he ſhould ſtorm hell, he would take it."

Many other places ſubmit to him.

The diſmal deſtruction of Tredagh rendered Cromwell's name formidable to all other places round about. Few of them had ſo much reſolution as to expect a ſummons to ſurrender; and particularly the garriſons of Trim and Dundalk, fearing the like uſage, abandoned them to the conqueror. In this laſt place their haſte was ſo great, that they left their great guns behind them, on the platforms. Cromwell did not, at that time, carry on his conqueſts any farther northward, but returned to Dublin, and marched with his army towards Wexford, that part lying convenient for ſubſiſting his army in the ſouthern counties. In his march, a place called Killingkerick, about fourteen miles from Dublin, being deſerted by the enemy, he put a party of his men into it. Arckloe-caſtle was likewiſe abandoned, and many other places ſubmitted to him.

He ſtorms Wexford.

On the 1ſt of October, Cromwell with his army came before Wexford, and ſent a ſummons to the governor, colonel David Synnot, requiring a ſpeedy ſurrender.

ſurrender. His anſwer was ſomewhat dubious, which occaſioned many papers to paſs betwixt him and the lord-general Cromwell. The governor did this on purpoſe to protract time until the earl of Caſtlehaven had thrown a party of five hundred foot into the town to reinforce the garriſon; and having now received theſe recruits, he reſolved to defend the place as long as he could, and ſeemed to defy all attempts that might be made againſt him. Upon this, Cromwell applies himſelf in good earneſt to the work, and bends his greateſt force againſt the caſtle, knowing, that upon the gaining of that, the town muſt ſoon follow. He cauſed a battery to be erected againſt it, whereby a ſmall breach being made, commiſſioners were ſent from the enemy, to treat about a ſurrender. In the mean time the guns continued firing, no ceſſation having been agreed upon; whereby the breach in the caſtle being made wider, the guard that was appointed to defend it, quitted their poſt; whereupon ſome of Cromwell's men entered the caſtle, and ſet up their colours at the top of it. The enemy obſerving this, quitted their ſtations in all parts, ſo that the others getting over the walls, poſſeſſed themſelves of the town without any great oppoſition, and ſet open the gates for the horſe to enter, tho' they could do but little ſervice, all the ſtreets being barred with cables. The town being thus entered, none were ſuffered to live that were found in arms; and ſo they cut their way through the ſtreets, till they came to the market-place, where the enemy fought deſperately for ſome time; but were at laſt quite broken, and all who were found in arms put to the ſword. Ludlow ſays, that the foot preſſed the enemy ſo cloſe, that, crowding to eſcape over the water, they ſo over-loaded the boats, that many of them were drowned. Great riches were taken in this town, it being eſteemed by the enemy a place of ſtrength; and ſome ſhips were ſeized in the

the harbour, which had much interrupted the commerce of that coaſt. The lord-lieutenant Cromwell appointed commiſſioners to take care of the goods that were found in the town belonging to the enemy, that they might be improved to the beſt advantage for the public. The reduction of this place was a very conſiderable advantage to the conquerors, being a port-town, and very convenient for receiving ſupplies from England. And the ſeverity that was exerciſed here, had the ſame effect with that uſed before at Drogheda; the terror ſpreading into all towns and forts along the coaſt as far as Dublin, ſpared the general the trouble of ſummoning them.

The winter now coming on, and it being a very wet ſeaſon, Cromwell's troops ſuffered much from the weather, and the flux then raging amongſt them. Many thought theſe reaſons ſhould have obliged him for the preſent to put a ſtop to his conqueſts; but he was of another mind, and more in the right than they. The difficulties the marquis of Ormond met with in bringing a new army into the field, after his late defeat, the ancient diſagreement again breaking out between the Popiſh confederates and him, on account of that diſaſter, the ſecret intelligence held by Cromwell in the province of Munſter, and the mighty affairs that called him back over the ſea, ſeemed to him more powerful motives for continuing the war, than the winter was to interrupt his progreſs.

He reduces Roſs.

Being thus reſolved, he marches with his army towards Roſs, a ſtrong town upon the Barrow. The lord Taffe was governor of this place, who had a ſtrong garriſon with him; and the better to ſecure it, Ormond, Caſtlehaven, and the lord Ardes, in their own perſons, cauſed fifteen hundred men more to be boated over to reinforce it, Cromwell's army all the while looking on, without being able to hinder them. However, the lord-governor no

ſooner came before the town, but he ſent the governor a ſummons to this effect, "That ſince his coming into Ireland he ever endeavoured to avoid the effuſion of blood, having been before no place, where he did not firſt ſend them ſuch terms, as might be for their preſervation; and to continue the like courſe, he now ſummons them to deliver up the town to the parliament of England." No anſwer was at preſent returned to this ſummons, till the great guns began to play; when the governor, being apprehenſive of the ſame uſage that other garriſons had before met with, was willing to treat; which being allowed, they came to this agreement, "That the town be delivered up to lord-general Cromwell, and they within march away with bag and baggage to Kilkenny." Which fifteen hundred of them accordingly did; but ſix hundred being Engliſh, revolted to Cromwell.

In the mean time Kingſale, Cork, Youghall, Bandon-bridge, and other garriſons, voluntarily declared for the conqueror; which garriſons proved of great uſe to the reduction of Munſter, and conſequently of all Ireland. Sir Charles Coot and colonel Venables were very ſucceſsful in the north; and the lord Broghill and colonel Hewſon did good ſervice in other places.

Beſieges Duncannon, and retreats from thence.

Cromwell having made himſelf maſter of Roſs, cauſed a bridge of boats to be laid over the Barrow, and his army to ſit down before Duncannon, a ſtrong fort commanded by colonel Wogan: But this place was ſo well provided with all things neceſſary, that it was judged it would be time loſt to tarry long before it. And ſo the army quickly roſe, and marched away into the county of Kilkenny; where the marquis of Ormond, being joined by Inchequin, ſeemed reſolved to give Cromwell battle. His army was ſtrong both in horſe and foot, far ſurpaſſing Cromwell's, which was much weakened by continual duty, difficult marches, the flux, and other

other diſeaſes. Notwithſtanding which, the marquis, upon the approach of his enemy, drew off, without making any attempt, or ſtriking one ſtroke. Upon which, Eniſlegoe, a little walled town, about five miles from Roſs, was reduced by colonel Abbot; and colonel Reynolds, with twelve troops of horſe, and three of dragoons, marched up to Carrick; where having divided his men into two parts, whilſt he amuſed them with one party, he entered a gate with the other, taking about a hundred priſoners without the loſs of a man.

The news hereof being brought to the lord-general Cromwell, then at Roſs, where he had continued for ſome time indiſpoſed, he immediately marched away with his army to beſiege Waterford, in hopes of gaining that important place before his forces ſhould draw into winter-quarters. Being come before it, he preſently detached a regiment of horſe, and three troops of dragoons, to reduce Paſſage-fort; which party met with the deſired ſucceſs, the fort and caſtle, with five great guns, and much arms and ammunition, being ſoon delivered up to them. But the ſiege of Waterford was not ſo ſucceſsfully carried on; for Cromwell perceiving that the city reſolved to ſtand upon their own defence, and it being now December, and the weather very wet, he thought it moſt adviſeable to draw off his army into winter-quarters; where they might be refreſhed againſt the ſpring, for the better finiſhing of the work they had ſo proſperouſly begun.

His army marches into winter-quarters.

In the mean time, a party of the enemy from Waterford, and another from Duncannon, joining together, beſieged Paſſage-fort; but being ſet upon by colonel Zankey, they were totally routed, a great many of them being killed, and three hundred and fifty taken priſoners. Several other ſkirmiſhes were maintained with the like ſucceſs; but the loſs of lieutenant-general Jones, who died about this time

at Wexford of a violent fever, ſtruck a damp upon all. He was a man every way bold and daring, of wonderful courage and reſolution, and yet he governed his valour with prudence, being not raſh, but adviſed in all his attempts: The army had a great loſs of him, and his death was ſoon followed by that of colonel Wolf, and ſcout-maſter-general Roe. Many of the common ſoldiers had likewiſe their ſhare in this mortality, but their numbers were recruited by conntiual ſupplies ſent from England by the parliament. And now alſo the Iriſh, as well as the Britiſh ſoldiers, under the marquis of Ormond, being allured by the ſucceſſes, and wrought upon by the invitations of the common-wealth, as alſo deterred by the plague that raged amongſt them, together with the want of pay and neceſſaries, ran by whole troops to Cromwell's camp; who made very great uſe of the Iriſh animoſities, and of the jealouſies between them and Ormond. He uſed to aſk ſome of the marquis's friends, whom he had taken priſoners, "What the marquis of Ormond had to do with Charles Stuart, and what obligations he had received from him;" and then would ſpeak of the hard uſage his grandfather had met with from king James, and the long impriſonment he had ſuſtained by him, for not ſubmitting to an extrajudicial determination, and ſaid, "he was confident, if the marquis and he could meet and confer together, they ſhould part very good friends." And many, who heard theſe diſcourſes, by his permiſſion, gave the marquis information of all he had ſaid.

Whilſt the army continued in their winter-quarters, the vigilant and active Cromwell would not ſit ſtill, but viſited all the garriſons that were in his poſſeſſion in Munſter, and ordered all affairs both military and civil. When he came to Kingſale, the mayor of the town (as was uſual in other places) delivered to him the mace and keys; which he

he returned not to him again, but gave them to colonel Stubber the governor. This was the more taken notice of, becauſe it had not been uſed by the lord-lieutenant; but the reaſon of this proceeding was, becauſe the mayor was an Iriſhman, and alſo a papiſt, and ſo it was not judged proper to entruſt ſuch a one with the government of ſo important a place.

About this time the parliament being apprehenſive of the deſigns that were carrying on againſt them in Scotland in favour of the king, and thinking they might have occaſion to make uſe of Cromwell for preventing the miſchief that threatened them from thence, reſolved that he ſhould be ſent for over into England, ordering the ſpeaker to write a letter to him for that purpoſe; but it being towards the latter end of March before he received this letter, and it being not his temper to lie long idle, when he knew he had much to do, he proceeded in his work of reducing Ireland, and was very ſucceſsful in it. The month of January was hardly expired, when the army took the field again in two bodies, which he divided on purpoſe to diſtreſs the marquis of Ormond. Himſelf took one party, and another was led by Ireton, who marched away to Carrick, in order to reinforce himſelf by the conjunction of col. Reynolds. Theſe were to march into the enemy's quarters two ſeveral ways, and to meet together at a rendezvous near Kilkenny. In order to this deſign, Cromwell with his party marched away over the Blackwater, towards the counties of Limerick and Tipperary. The firſt place reduced by him was a caſtle called Kilkenny, upon the borders of the county of Limerick. After that, he took Cloghern-houſe, belonging to Sir Richard Everard, one of the ſupreme council of the Iriſh. From thence marched to Roghill-caſtle, which upon ſummons was delivered up to him. Here with much difficulty he paſſed the river Shewr,

and

and without delay marched away to Feathard, a garriſon town where one Butler was governor. Being got into the ſuburbs about ten at night, he ſent a trumpet with a ſummons to the town; but they ſhot at the trumpet, and being informed that the lord-lieutenant was with a party, they ſaid, "That it was not a fit time to ſend a ſummons in the night." Upon this a reſolution being taken to ſtorm, the governor thought fit to ſend two commiſſioners to treat with the lord-lieutenant; and after one night ſpent in the treaty, the town was ſurrendered the next morning upon articles; which Cromwell the more readily granted them, becauſe he had but a few foot, and no great guns nor ladders; and 17 companies of the Ulſter foot were within five miles of the town. The enemy quitted it in ſome diſorder, after which the magiſtrates ſent a petition to Cromwell, deſiring his protection.

The forces having a little refreſhed themſelves at Feathard, the general marched with them from thence to Calan, garriſoned by the enemy. Here he was joined by Ireton, Reynolds, and Zankey, making up in all a conſiderable body. The chief ſtrength of Calan conſiſted in three caſtles that were in the town; and theſe the ſoldiers ſtormed one after another, and carried them all. Thus the place held out but one day, and paid dear for that ſhort reſiſtance, all who were in arms being put to the ſword, except Butler's troops, which ſurrendered before the cannon was fired. This ſo terrified ſome who defended a houſe about a muſquet-ſhot from the town, that they preſently ſent to deſire liberty to remove to Kilkenny; which the lord-general readily granted. The ſoldiers having ſufficiently furniſhed themſelves with the proviſions they found in the town, marched back again to Feathard, by the way, taking the two caſtles of Knoctofer, and Bully-nard; after which ſoon followed Kiltennon, Arſennon, Coher, and Dundrum, very conſiderable places. The

The lord-governor Cromwell had now entirely ſubdued all places of importance, except Limerick, Waterford, Clonmell, Gallaway, and Kilkenny. Theſe were places of great ſtrength, and would take up much time; however, he reſolved to attempt the laſt: But fearing the force he had might not be ſufficient to carry on the deſign, he ſent orders to colonel Hewſon, the new governor of Dublin, to bring him all the forces he could draw out of the garriſons of Wexford, and the other poſts he had taken on that ſide. Accordingly Hewſon, after having taken Laughlin-Bridge, joined the lord-governor's army near Gowran, a populous town, defended by a ſtrong caſtle, whereof one Hammond, a Kentiſh man was governor. Being ſummoned to deliver it up, he returned a very reſolute anſwer, having great confidence in the valour of his men, who were Ormond's own regiment. Upon this the great guns began to play, and did ſuch furious execution, that he ſoon thought it time for him to beat a parley: But it was now too late; for he could obtain no other conditions than theſe, "That the common-ſoldiers ſhould have their lives, and the officers be diſpoſed of as ſhould be thought fit." The place being thus delivered up, to which Hammond was enforced by the ſedition of the ſoldiers, he and all the commiſſion-officers but one, were the next day ſhot to death; and the prieſt, who was chaplain to the popiſh ſoldiers in the regiment, hanged.

Reduces Gowran.

After this, the lord-governor proceeds in his deſign of beſieging the city of Kilkenny. The garriſon there required a more than ordinary ſtrength to reduce it, as having been again and again reinforced by thoſe who had ſurrendered upon articles the ſmall towns and caſtles in that county. But Cromwell, not at all diſcouraged at this, on the 22d of March, ſent firſt of all a ſmall party of horſe before to make diſcovery, and ſhortly after came up

Takes Kilkenny.

up with his whole force. Being advanced within a mile of the city, he made a ſtand, and ſent a ſummons to Sir Walter Butler the governor, and the corporation, to deliver up the city, for the uſe of the parliament of England. The anſwer which was returned the next day not being ſatisfactory, Cromwell made his approaches near to the wall, and cauſed a battery to be erected in the moſt convenient place for annoying the beſieged, and opening an entrance to the beſiegers. In the mean time the beſieged were not idle; but obſerving where the enemy bent his greateſt ſtrength, endeavoured there to make the greateſt oppoſition, by raiſing two retrenchments within, ſtrongly palliſadoing them, and placing ſome pieces that might play to the beſt advantage. Cromwell however, having made all the neceeſſary preparations, fell furiouſly to battering the walls; whereby, after making about an hundred ſhot, a breach was opened. In the mean while, colonel Ewer, with a thouſand foot, was ordered to attempt another part of the city, called Iriſh-town; and the better to facilitate this enterprize, the ſoldiers were ordered to attack the fore-mentioned breach; which they accordingly did, but were forced to retreat with loſs. However, the deſign took effect; for by this means, the whole ſtrength of the enemy was held in play, while colonel Ewer with his party gained Iriſh-town; which they did with very little loſs. There was on the other ſide of the river another ſmall town, or ſuburbs to the main city, and it was thought convenient to ſend eight companies of foot to poſſeſs themſelves of it; which was done without any oppoſition: And this animated them to endeavour to force a paſſage over the bridge into the city; but the ſame misfortune happened as before at the breach. However, theſe deſperate attempts occaſioned the governor to reflect more ſeriouſly upon his preſent circumſtances; for the garriſon

garriſon in Cantwell-caſtle, whom he had ſent for, had deſired paſſes of the lord-governor Cromwell, to go beyond ſea, and enter themſelves into the ſervice of foreign princes, engaging never to act againſt the parliament of England; which requeſt Cromwell granted them. But that which moſt of all diſcouraged the governor, was, that he muſt not only defend himſelf, but muſt alſo be his own relief, there being no army in the field ſufficient for that purpoſe. Theſe things, together with the conſideration, that the longer he ſtood out the worſe he would fare, induced him to enter into a treaty; and after a day's debate, they came to an agreement upon the following terms: "Firſt, That the city and caſtle ſhould be delivered up to the lord-governor Cromwell, with all the arms, ammunition, and publick ſtores. Secondly the inhabitants of Kilkenny to be protected in their perſons, goods, and eſtates, from the violence of the ſoldiery; and ſuch as had a mind to remove, to have liberty ſo to do, three months after the date of the articles. Thirdly, The governor, officers, and ſoldiers, to march away with bag and baggage. Fourthly, The city to pay two thouſand pounds as a gratuity to his excellency the lord Cromwell's army."

Thus was the city of Kilkenny, which had been the nurſery of the late rebellion, and the reſidence of the ſupreme council, reduced to the parliament's obedience in leſs than a week's time, and that chiefly by the vigilance, activity, and indefatigable induſtry of the lord-general Cromwell; who would always bear a ſhare in the hardſhips his ſoldiers were expoſed to, and never flinch from them at any time, when his perſonal valour was neceſſary; ſo that he frequently laid aſide the dignity of a great commander, to act the part of a private ſoldier.

Cromwell ſtaid no longer at Kilkenny than was neceſſary to ſettle the affairs of that city; after

which he marched with the army to Carrick, from thence to proceed upon further action. Here he wrote a letter to the ſpeaker of the parliament, giving a particular account of the taking of Kilkenny, and ſeveral other places of leſs importance. And then concerning his coming over into England, he confeſſed he had received many private intimations of the parliament's pleaſure as to that matter, and copies of their votes; but all theſe were only private intimations. He ſaid that he received not the ſpeaker's letter till March 22d, which was dated Jan. 8, and then ſuppoſed the army in winter-quarters, and the time of the year not ſuitable for preſent action: Upon which he concludes thus: "Making this as the reaſon of your command, (viz. the army being in winter-quarters, &c.) and your forces having been in action ever ſince Jan. 29, and your letter, which was to be the rule of my obedience, coming to my hands after our having been ſo long in action, with reſpect had to the reaſons you were pleaſed to uſe therein; and having received a letter, ſigned by yourſelf, of the 26th of Feb. which mentions not a word of the continuance of your pleaſure concerning my coming over, I did humbly conceive it much conſiſted with my duty, humbly to beg a poſitive ſignification what your will is; profeſſing (as before the Lord) that I am moſt ready to obey your commands herein, with all alacrity; rejoicing only to be about that work which I am called to by thoſe whom God hath ſet over me, which I acknowledge to be you; and fearing only in obeying you, to diſobey you. I moſt humbly and earneſtly beſeech you to judge for me, whether your letter doth not naturally allow me the liberty of begging a more clear expreſſion of your command and pleaſure; which when vouchſafed to me, will find moſt ready and chearful obſervance from, &c."

About

About this time the marquis of Ormond, the lord Caſtlehaven, and the biſhop of Clogher, reflecting on the deſperate condition of their affairs, appointed a meeting at Weſt-Meath, with the gentlemen of that county, to conſider of ſome better way to ſupport their cauſe, which was now almoſt ruined every where. In this meeting Ormond propoſed; "Firſt, Whether they were able to raiſe ſuch forces, as might be ſufficient to engage with Cromwell. Secondly, In caſe they were not able to fight, whether it were not neceſſary with all the forces they could make, to fall into the Engliſh quarters, and there to burn and deſtroy what they could, that they might not be able to ſubſiſt. Thirdly, If this were not feaſible, then whether it were not moſt convenient for them all to join in ſome propoſitions of peace for the whole kingdom; or every one for himſelf, to make his particular application." This laſt expedient was moſt approved of by ſome; but the chief of them being conſcious of their own guilt, thought they were not very likely to obtain good conditions, when neceſſity obliged them to be ſupplicants; and therefore to moleſt the Engliſh in their quarters was judged to be moſt adviſeable for them all, thereby to protract time, till they ſhould have a fit opportunity to eſcape out of the kingdom. Ormond in great diſtreſs.

The lord-lieutenant having well refreſhed his army after the ſiege of Kilkenny, marched from Carrick, and ſat down before Clonmell, another conſiderable place, in which was a garriſon of two thouſand foot and a hundred and twenty horſe. No ſooner was the ſiege formed, but colonel Reynolds and Sir Theophilus Jones were ordered to march away with a detachment of two thouſand five hundred horſe, foot, and dragoons, to prevent Ormond's deſign of falling into the parliament's quarters; and notice hereof being ſent to Sir Charles Coot, he thereupon took the field with Cromwell beſieges Clonmell.

three thouſand men. But the enemy ſhifting from place to place to avoid fighting, colonel Reynolds, that his men might not remain idle, beſieged Tecrogham. In the mean time, the lord Broghill being detached with another party of one thouſand four hundred horſe and dragoons, and one thouſand two hundred foot, to fight the biſhop of Roſs, who with five thouſand men was marching to relieve Clonmell, he ſoon got up with them and totally routed them, killing about ſeven hundred on the place, taking twenty captains, lieutenants, and other officers; as alſo the biſhop himſelf with the ſtandard of the church of Munſter. The lord Broghill's horſe are ſaid to have done the ſervice before the foot came up, and at ſuch a paſs, where a hundred muſquetteers might have repelled all the horſe in Ireland. The biſhop was carried to a caſtle which was kept by his own forces, and there hanged before the walls, in the ſight of the the garriſon; who were ſo diſmayed at it, that they immediately ſurrendered the caſtle to the parliament's forces. This biſhop uſed to ſay, "There was no way to ſecure the Engliſh, but by hanging them;" and now himſelf met with the ſame fate.

Lord Broghill defeats the biſhop of Roſs.

Theſe advantages were a great encouragement to thoſe who lay before Clonmell; which the lord-lieutenant uſed more than ordinary induſtry to reduce, underſtanding that its defenders were very unanimous, and withal choice men, well armed, and in all reſpects prepared to make a vigorous reſiſtance. Beſides, it was governed by an active Iriſhman, one Hugh O'Neal, who had employed all hands in the town for caſting up new counterſcarps on the inſide of the old walls, and doing every thing elſe that might tend to ſecure the place; ſo that it ſeemed impoſſible to gain it by aſſault.

However, the valiant and active Cromwell, whoſe buſineſs now required a quick diſpatch, in regard

regard that his ſervice was likely very ſoon to be wanted elſewhere, reſolved to try that courſe: And ſo having ſummoned the governor to ſurrender, and receiving no ſatisfactory anſwer, he ordered the great guns to be planted; which did ſuch noble execution, that a breach was very ſoon opened, which the beſiegers, upon a ſignal given, couragiouſly entered, and met with as gallant a reſiſtance from the beſieged; notwithſtanding which the former made good their ground, and maintained a fight for four hours together, with doubtful ſucceſs, there being a great ſlaughter on both ſides: But at laſt the enemy was forced to quit the place, and betake themſelves to flight; and tho' they were very much favoured by ſome hills near the town, yet could they not eſcape the fury of the victorious ſoldiers, who killed many of them in the purſuit. An eminent commander in the army, who was himſelf in this fight, gave this account of it: "That they found in Clonmell the ſtouteſt enemy that ever was found by the army in Ireland; and it was his opinion, and of many more, that there was never ſeen ſo hot a ſtorm of ſo long a continuance, and ſo gallantly defended, neither in England nor Ireland." The ſubduing of this place, though with ſo much difficulty, made ſuch an impreſſion on many more, that in a very little time they ſubmitted without ſo much as ſtriking a ſingle ſtroke.

Clonmell taken by ſtorm

While Cromwell was thus conquering in one part of Ireland, Coot and Venables had the like ſucceſs in another, and brought all the north under his obedience: The biſhop of Clogher was here entirely routed, and being taken priſoner, met with the ſame fate as the biſhop of Roſs; and in this fight three thouſand of the old Iriſh rebels were ſlain.

Other ſucceſſes in Ireland.

Thus the lord-lieutenant was on all hands attended with ſucceſs; and he gave a conſtant account

count

count of his proceedings to the parliament and council of ſtate, in all his letters exhorting them "to give the glory unto God, to whom it was only due." His proceeding ſo proſperouſly in his affairs, and obtaining thereby ſo great a ſway, occaſioned a book to be diſperſed about this time, entitled, "The character of king Cromwell;" which, tho' ſuppreſſed for a libel, is ſaid to have been even received as a kind of prophecy. And indeed by the good government of the army in Ireland, and the great ſucceſs of it, and the well ordering of the civil affairs of that kingdom, Cromwell obtained a very great intereſt, not only in the officers of the army, both there and here, but likewiſe in the parliament and council of ſtate, and all their party; only the Scots and Preſbyterians were generally no favourers of him or his proceedings. He was now preparing to take Waterford and Duncannon, which he had miſſed of before; and had actually blocked up Waterford, when about the middle of May, he was by a new order, or rather requeſt of the parliament, obliged to leave the finiſhing of his ſo far extended conqueſts to his ſon-in-law Ireton, whom, for that purpoſe, he conſtituted lord-deputy. He had been in Ireland about nine months; a very inconſiderable time, if we reſpect the great work he performed therein, which was more than ever any king or queen of England was able to do in ſo many years before.

Cromwell appoints Ireton his deputy.

All Ireland in a manner reduced by him.

Waterford was ſurrendered ſoon after his departure; and ſo remarkable was the parliament's ſucceſs in all parts of that kingdom, through the active valour, prudence, and induſtry of the lord-lieut. Cromwell, and thoſe whom he employed under him, that in leſs than a year's time, they were maſters of all but Limerick, Galloway, and ſome few garriſons and forces on the Faſtneſſes. Before the lord-governor left the iſle, that he might the better weaken the Iriſh, he contrived means for tranſport-

tranſporting no leſs than forty thouſand of them out of the nation, into the ſervice of foreign princes; of whom few ever returned again to their native country: So great a ſcourge was he to that rebellious and blood-thirſty generation.

Cromwell having appointed Ireton his deputy, and viſited thoſe places in Munſter, which had lately ſubmitted to the parliament, with deſign to ſettle the civil as well as military affairs of that province; for which end he made John Coke, Eſq; chief juſtice of Munſter; and having ordered all things in the beſt manner that was poſſible, he embarked for England, and ſailed home, as it were, in triumph. After a boiſterous paſſage, he landed at Briſtol, where the great guns were fired thrice over at his arrival, and he was welcomed with many other demonſtrations of joy. Hence, without delay, he poſts for London; and on Hounſlow-Heath, was met by the lord-general Fairfax, many members of parliament and officers of the army, and multitudes of people, who came out of curioſity to ſee him, who had made himſelf ſo famous, and acquired ſuch high renown by his great and valiant actions. Being thus attended, he proceeds on, and coming to Hyde-Park is ſaluted with great guns, and ſeveral volleys of ſhot from col. Barkſtead's regiment, which was drawn up in the way for that purpoſe. Thus in a triumphant manner he entered the city of London, amidſt a crowd of attendants, friends, citizens, &c. and was received with great demonſtrations of joy. Here it is obſerved, that as he did not refuſe the honours that were paid to him on this occaſion, ſo he ſhewed he had too much good ſenſe to make much account of them; for as he was paſſing by Tyburn, a certain flatterer pointing to the crowds of people that came to meet him, and ſaying, "See what a multitude of people come to attend your triumph;" he anſwered with a ſmile and very unconcerned,

"More

"More would come to ſee me hanged." Being conducted to the Cock-pit, which had been prepared for his reception, the lord-mayor and aldermen of London, and many other perſons of quality, paid their viſits to him, congratulating the ſafe arrival of his excellency, and expreſſing their own and the nation's great obligations to him. Having reſumed his place in parliament, the ſpeaker in an elegant ſpeech gave him the thanks of the houſe, for the great and faithful ſervices he had performed for the commonwealth in the nation of Ireland: After which, the lord-lieutenant gave them a full and particular account of the preſent ſtate and condition of that country.

Ireton's death and character.

And here, as it will not fall in my way in the remaining part of this hiſtory, I ſhall conclude this chapter with the death and character of the lord-deputy Ireton, who died about a year and a half after Cromwell's departure. He had proceeded very ſucceſsfully in his new government and command; and after the taking of ſeveral places, giving articles to ſome, and making examples of others, he attempted the ſtrong city of Limerick, which after a long ſiege, at laſt ſurrendered to him: But falling ſick of the plague here, ſhortly after, he ended his days on the 26th of November, 1651. This man has been highly extolled by ſome, and as much condemned by others. So far as we have had occaſion to mention him in this hiſtory, we have given as juſt an account of his actions and proceedings as we could; wherein the reader muſt be left to cenſure or acquit him as he ſhall think proper, after we have given this ſhort character of him from Whitelock, who ſeems the moſt impartial: "This gentleman, ſays he, was a perſon very active and induſtrious (or, as he ſays elſewhere, a man of induſtry and invention) and ſtiff in his ways and purpoſes: He was of good abilities for counſel as well as action; and made much uſe of his pen,

pen, and was very forward to reform the proceedings in law, wherein his having been bred a lawyer was an help to him. He was ſtout in the field, and wary and prudent in his counſel, and exceedingly forward as to the buſineſs of a *common-wealth*. He married Cromwell's daughter, who had a great opinion of him; and no man could prevail ſo much, nor order him ſo far as Ireton could. His death ſtruck a great ſadneſs into Cromwell; and indeed it was a great loſs to him, of ſo able, and active, ſo faithful, and ſo near a relation, and officer under him." The new common-wealth had alſo a great loſs by his death; who, to expreſs their gratitude for his important ſervices, ordered his body to be brought over to England; where having firſt lain in ſtate in Somerſet-Houſe, he was interred at Weſtminſter among the Engliſh kings, with the greateſt pomp and magnificence.

CHAP. III.

From Cromwell's *return out of* Ireland, *to the battle of* Dunbar.

IN leſs than a month after the lord-lieutenant's return from his conqueſts in Ireland, he was employed by the parliament in a new expedition againſt the Scots; who, upon the king's death, had proclaimed his ſon prince Charles, king of Scotland, England, France, and Ireland, and ſent commiſſioners to him at the Hague, to invite his majeſty into Scotland, or rather to acquaint him upon what terms he might come thither: For though they had declared his right to ſucceſſion, yet before he ſhould be admitted to the exerciſe

The Scots treat with king C. II.

of his royal power, he was to "Give ſatisfaction to the kingdom in thoſe things which concerned the ſecurity of religion, the unity betwixt the kingdoms, and the good and peace of that kingdom, according to the *national covenant*, and the *ſolemn league and covenant*." Whilſt theſe things were tranſacting, the king began to perceive, that the States-general were very uneaſy at his continuance in their dominions, fearing it might give ſome umbrage to the Engliſh common-wealth, with whom they had no mind to break. They gave daily intimations, "That the king's reſiding at the Hague, would be very inconvenient for them;" and it was owing wholly to the great intereſt and dexterity of the prince of Orange, that they did not ſend a meſſage directly to deſire him to depart. However, the king reſolved to remove; and an accident happened at this time, which haſtened that reſolution; which was the aſſaſſination of Dr. Doriſlaus at the Hague. This man had been concerned in the late king's trial; and being ſent as an agent from England, for the begetting and continuing a right underſtanding and fair correſpondence betwixt the two Republicks, while he was at ſupper in his lodgings, with many others at the table, ſix men entered the room with their ſwords drawn, and bid thoſe at the table not ſtir, "for they intended no harm to any but the agent, who came from the rebels in England, who had lately murdered their king." Hereupon one Whitford pulled Doriſlaus from the table, and killed him at his feet, ſaying, "Thus dies one of the Regicides:" And ſo putting up their ſwords, they went quietly out of the houſe, and eſcaped unpuniſhed, though the States pretended that they had uſed their utmoſt endeavours to get them apprehended.

Dr. Doriſlaus murdered at the Hague.

The king left the Hague in May, 1649, taking his journey into France, where he ſtaid ſome months

months with the queen his mother at St. Germains: But the Court of France growing uneaſy at his continuance there, he at length embarked for the Iſle of Jerſey, which, together with Guernſey, Man, and Scilly, had not yet ſubmitted to the parliament.

The Scots proceed in their treaty with the king.

It was no ſooner known in Scotland, that the king was arrived at Jerſey, but Sir George Windram laird of Libberton, was ſent with a meſſage to him; who, in the beginning of October, preſented the following deſires and offers of the ſtates of Scotland: Firſt, "That he would ſign the *covenant*, and paſs an act for all perſons to take it." Secondly, "That he would paſs the acts of parliament in Scotland, which were ratified by their two laſt ſeſſions." Thirdly, "That he would withdraw his commiſſion from the marquis of Montroſs." Fourthly, "That he would put away all Papiſts from about him." Fifthly, "That he would appoint ſome place in Holland to treat with commiſſioners from the eſtates of Scotland." Sixthly, "That he would give a ſpeedy anſwer."

About this time, the rulers in England having prepared a fleet againſt the Iſle of Jerſey, it was judged neceſſary for his majeſty to leave that place, and return through France to Breda. Here he fell into new treaties with the Scotch commiſſioners, who waiting on him about the latter end of March, inſiſted on his compliance with the following propoſitions from the Kirk and States of Scotland: Firſt, "That all excommunicated perſons ſhould be forbid acceſs to the court." Secondly, "That the king would by ſolemn oath, and under his hand and ſeal, declare his allowance of the national covenant of Scotland, and of the ſolemn league and covenant of the three nations." Thirdly, "That he ſhould confirm all acts of parliament, enjoining the ſolemn league and covenant, eſtabliſhing Preſbytery, the directory, the confeſ-

ſion of faith and catechiſm in the kingdom of Scotland, as they are already approved by the general aſſembly of the Kirk, and the Parliament; and that he would obſerve the ſame in his own family, and ſwear never to oppoſe, or endeavour the alteration of the ſame." Fourthly, "That he would conſent, that all civil matters might be determined by the preſent and ſubſequent parliaments in Scotland, and all matters, eccleſiaſtical by the general aſſembly of the Kirk."

Unfortunate expedition of the marquis of Montroſs.

While the king was conſulting with his friends what was beſt to be done in this exigency, an accident happened that had like to have broke off the treaty. Whilſt his majeſty reſided at the Hague, the marquis of Montroſs waited on him, and undertook, if he would follow his advice, to reſtore him to his kingdoms by force of arms. He only deſired of the king power to act in his name, and a ſupply in money, with a letter recommending him to the king of Denmark for ſome ſhips, and ſuch arms as he could ſpare.

All theſe being granted by the king, and preparations made for the expedition, Montroſs, with no more than ſix or ſeven hundred men, in four ſhips, reſolved to venture his fortune, expecting to join with the northern people in Scotland, who had formerly experienced his great bravery and conduct. He got firſt to the iſlands of Orkney, and from thence into the Highlands; but could perform nothing of what he had undertaken, Leſley having ordered colonel Straughan to advance towards him, with three hundred choice horſe; who, in April 1650. ſet upon this ill compoſed body of Montroſs, and utterly routed them. Montroſs fled, but was at laſt betrayed by one of thoſe to whom he intruſted himſelf, Mackland of Aſſin, and was brought priſoner to Edinburgh. He was carried through the ſtreets with the moſt brutal infamy that could be deviſed, and in a few days,

by

by a ſentence pronounced by the lord Lowden, was hanged upon a gibbet thirty foot high for three hours; after which he was quartered, and his head ſet upon the Talbooth, and his legs and arms over the gates of Sterling, Glaſcow, Dundee, and Aberdeen. His behaviour under all his ſufferings was as great and firm to the laſt, as the fury of the covenanters againſt him was black and univerſally deteſted.

The violent party in Scotland were hereupon for breaking off the treaty with the king, though by the date of the marquis's commiſſion, it appeared to have been granted before the treaty commenced: However, it was carried not to recal their commiſſioners. On the other hand, one would think that this cruelty to one who had acted by his commiſſion, would effectually have prevented the king from complying with them. But he was in no condition to ſtruggle with theſe men, and ſo quickly yielded to all their demands. And being furniſhed with ſome Dutch men of war by the prince of Orange, he embarked for Scotland; where he landed on the 16th of June, after a demand from the council, "That he would ſign both the covenants before he ſet his feet on the ſhore;" to which he was perſuaded to conſent. He tarried ſeveral days at Dundee, attended with one committee from the parliament, and another from the Kirk, who were urging his majeſty to ſign ſeveral propoſitions, and before he comply'd, would not agree to his coming to Edinburgh to be crowned.

The king arrives in Scotland.

The parliament and committee of eſtates were likewiſe endeavouring to raiſe an army for the king's ſervice, as they alledged, and to that end had publiſhed an act for training of every fourth man, who was able to bear arms throughout the kingdom. With this army it was ſuppoſed they intended to invade England, and ſecure the eſtabliſhment of the king in his throne. The preachers were

An army raiſed by the Scots.

were very earneſt in their perſuaſions to engage the people in this cauſe; and notwithſtanding the ſeveral obſtructions they met with, by reaſon of their diviſions among themſelves, they compleated their levies to about ſixteen thouſand foot, and ſix thouſand horſe. The king was ſuffered to come once and ſee this army, but not to ſtay in it; for they feared he might gain too much upon the ſoldiers. Special care was taken not to ſuffer Malignants or Engagers, as they called the Hamiltonian party, to be in this army. All who deſerted their cauſe, or were thought indifferent as to either ſide, which they called *deteſtable neutrality*, were put out of commiſſion. And now the preachers, thinking they had got an army of ſaints, ſeemed well aſſured of ſucceſs.

Whilſt theſe tranſactions and preparations were carrying on in Scotland, the common-wealth of England took great care to provide for its own ſupport and ſecurity. To this end, as has been already mentioned, before the king landed in Scotland, it was thought neceſſary to ſend for the lord-lieutenant Cromwell out of Ireland; who immediately adviſed the council of ſtate, not to be behind hand with their enemy, nor to truſt to any after-game, but to prevent the Scots invaſion of England, by carrying the war directly into Scotland. But ſome ſcrupulous men amongſt them objected, "That to begin a war with Scotland would be contrary to the covenant:" To which it was anſwered, "That the Scots had already broken the covenant, and that therefore it was not now binding on the one ſide, after it had been diſſolved on the other." So that they came at length to this reſolution, "That having a formed army, well provided and experienced, they would march it forthwith into Scotland, to prevent the ſaid Scots marching into England, and the great miſeries that might

Cromwell adviſes to invade Scotland.

might attend ſuch an invaſion." The lord-general Fairfax, being adviſed with herein, ſeemed at firſt to like the deſign; but being afterwards hourly perſuaded by the Preſbyterian miniſters, and his own lady, who was a great patroneſs of them, he declared, "That he was not ſatisfied that there was a juſt ground for the parliament of England to ſend their army to invade Scotland; but in caſe the Scots ſhould invade England, then he was ready to engage againſt them in defence of his own country." The council of ſtate being ſomewhat troubled at the lord-general's ſcruples, appointed a committee to confer with him, in order to ſatisfy him of the juſtice and lawfulneſs of this undertaking. This committee were Cromwell, Lambert, Harriſon, St. John, Whitelock, &c. Cromwell opened the conference; and after ſome previous diſcourſe between the lord-general and the committee, his excellency acquainted them with the ground of his diſſatisfaction, declaring, "That he did not ſee that the Scots had given ſufficient cauſe for this invaſion of their country by the Engliſh." Upon which Cromwell proceeded thus: "I confeſs, my lord, that if they have given us no cauſe to invade them, it will not be juſtifiable for us to do it; and to make war upon them without a ſufficient ground for it, will be contrary to that which in conſcience we ought to do, and diſpleaſing both to God and good men. But, my lord, if they have invaded us, as your lordſhip knows they have done ſince the national league and covenant, and contrary to it, in that action of duke Hamilton, which was by order and authority from the parliament of that kingdom, and ſo the act of the whole nation by their repreſentatives; and if they now give us too much cauſe of ſuſpicion, that they intend another invaſion upon us, joining with their king, with whom they have made a full agreement, without the aſſent or privity of this common-

mon-wealth; and are very buſy at this preſent in raiſing forces and money to carry on their deſign: If theſe things are not a ſufficient ground and cauſe for us to endeavour to provide for the ſafety of our own country, and to prevent the miſeries which an invaſion of the Scots would bring upon us, I humbly ſubmit to your excellency's judgment. That they have formerly invaded us, and brought a war into the bowels of our country, is known to all, wherein God was pleaſed to bleſs us with ſucceſs againſt them: And that they now intend a new invaſion upon us, I do as really believe, and have as good intelligence of it, as we can have of any thing that is not yet acted. Therefore I ſay, my lord, that upon theſe grounds, I think we have a moſt juſt cauſe to begin, or rather to return and requite their hoſtility firſt begun upon us; and thereby to free our country (if God ſhall be pleaſed to aſſiſt us, and I doubt not but he will) from the great miſery and calamity of having an army of Scots within our country. That there will be a war between us, I fear is unavoidable: Your excellency will ſoon determine, whether it be better to have this war in the bowels of another country, or of our own? and that it will be in one of them, I think it without ſcruple." But no arguments could prevail on the general, who declared that his conſcience was not ſatisfied as to the juſtice of this war; and therefore, that he might be no hindrance to the parliament's deſigns, he deſired to lay down his commiſſion. Upon which Cromwell ſpoke again, as follows:

"I am very ſorry your lordſhip ſhould have thoughts of laying down your commiſſion, by which God hath bleſſed you in the performance of ſo many eminent ſervices for the parliament. I pray, my lord, conſider all your faithful ſervants, us who are officers, who have ſerved under you,

and

and desire to serve under no other general. It would be a great discouragement to all of us, and a great discouragement to the affairs of the parliament, for our noble general to entertain any thoughts of laying down his commission. I hope your lordship will never give so great an advantage to the publick enemy, nor so much dishearten your friends, as to think of laying down your commission." But all this would not do: The general still continued in the same mind, and concluded thus, "What would you have me do? As far as my conscience will give way, I am willing to join with you still in the service of the parliament; but where the conscience is not satisfied, none of you, I am sure, will engage in any service; and that is my condition in this, and therefore I must desire to be excused."

Cromwell and the other officers in this committee were most earnest in persuading the general to continue his commission; and yet 'tis said there was cause enough to believe that they did not overmuch desire it. Ludlow says, that Cromwell pressed the council of state, "That notwithstanding the unwillingness of the lord Fairfax to command upon this occasion, they would yet continue him to be general of the army; professing for his own part, 'That he would rather chuse to serve under him in his post, than to command the greatest army in Europe." He also informs us, that the fore-mentioned committee was appointed upon the motion of lieutenant-general Cromwell, "Who, says he, acted his part so to the life, that I really thought him in earnest." And indeed, if he had not been in earnest, I do not think he would have used the most likely arguments to convince the general of the lawfulness of the designed expedition, and to prevail on him to continue his commission; as he certainly did.

The committee having made their report to the council of ſtate, of all that had paſſed, and acquainted them with the lord-general's total averſeneſs to march with the army into Scotland; and this being ordered to be again reported to the parliament, new endeavours were uſed to prevail on his excellency, but without ſucceſs; and ſhortly after he thought fit to reſign his commiſſion. But the parliament were not much at a loſs for one to ſucceed in that great office; for having ſufficiently experienced the valour, conduct, and faithfulneſs of lieutenant-general Cromwell, they ſoon voted, *nemine contradicente*, that he ſhould be their general; and ſo an act paſſed, "For conſtituting and appointing Oliver Cromwell, Eſq; to be captain-general in chief of all the forces raiſed, and to be raiſed, by authority of parliament, within the common-wealth of England."

Fairfax lays down his commiſſion, and Cromwell is made general in his room.

A day or two after there was a private conference between general Cromwell and colonel Ludlow; the occaſion of which was this: The general told Ludlow, as he ſat by him in the houſe, that having obſerved an alteration in his looks and carriage towards him, he apprehended that he had entertained ſome ſuſpicions of him; and being perſuaded of the tendency of both their deſigns to the good of the publick, he deſired that a meeting might be appointed, wherein they might freely lay open the grounds of their miſtakes and miſapprehenſions, and a foundation might be laid for a good underſtanding for the future. Ludlow anſwered, that he diſcovered in him what he had never perceived in himſelf; yet ſince he was pleaſed to do him the honour to deſire a free converſation with him, he aſſured him of his readineſs therein. Hereupon they agreed to meet that afternoon in the council of ſtate, and from thence to retire to a private room; where general Cromwell endeavoured to perſuade Ludlow "of the neceſſity incumbent

cumbent upon him to do ſeveral things that appeared extraordinary in the judgment of ſome men, who in oppoſition to him, took ſuch courſes as would bring ruin upon themſelves, as well as him and the public cauſe;" aſſuring him, "That his intentions were entirely directed to the good of the people, and that he was moſt ready to ſacrifice his life in their ſervice." Ludlow confeſſed his former diſſatisfaction with him and the reſt of the army, when they were treating with the king, whom he looked upon as the only obſtruction to the ſettlement of the nation; and with their actions at the rendezvous, where they ſhot a ſoldier to death, and impriſoned ſeveral others, upon the account of that treaty; which he conceived to have been done without authority, and for ſiniſter ends: Yet as they had ſince manifeſted their adherence to the common-wealth, he was well enough ſatisfied, tho' ſome things were ſtill carried otherwiſe than he could wiſh. Hereupon, (as Ludlow himſelf, who relates this conference, tells us) the general acknowledged, that his diſſatisfaction with the army, whilſt they were treating with the king, was founded upon good reaſons, and excuſed what had been done at the rendezvous, as abſolutely neceſſary to keep things from falling into confuſion; which muſt have followed upon that diviſion, if it had not been ſeaſonably prevented. He further tells us, that the general profeſſed to deſire nothing more, than that the government of the nation might be ſettled in a free and equal common-wealth; acknowledging, that there was no other probable means to keep out the old family and government from returning upon them. Then after a long diſcourſe ſavouring much of enthuſiaſm, after the manner of thoſe times, he added, "That it was his intention to contribute the utmoſt of his endeavours to make a thorough reformation of the clergy and law: 'But, ſaid he, the ſons of Zer-

viah are yet too ſtrong for us; and we cannot mention the reformation of the law, but they preſently cry out, we deſign to deſtroy property; whereas the law, as 'tis now conſtituted, ſerves only to maintain the lawyers, and to encourage the rich to oppreſs the poor:' Affirming, that Mr. Coke, then juſtice in Ireland, by proceeding in a ſummary and expeditious way, determined more cauſes in a week, than Weſtminſter-hall in a year." He ſaid further, "That Ireland was as a clean ſheet of paper in that particular, and capable of being governed by ſuch laws as ſhould be found moſt agreeable to juſtice; which may be ſo impartially adminiſtered, as to be a good precedent even to even to England itſelf, where, when they once perceive property preſerved at an eaſy and cheap rate in Ireland, they will never permit themſelves to be cheated and abuſed, as now they are."

He conſults about the affairs of Ireland.

Before the lord-general's departure for the Scotch expedition, he moved the council of ſtate, "That ſince they had employed him about a work which would require all his care, they would be pleaſed to eaſe him of the affairs of Ireland:" Which they not conſenting to, he then moved, "That they would at leaſt ſend over there ſome commiſſioners for managing the civil affairs; aſſuring them likewiſe, that the military being more than major-general Ireton could poſſibly carry on, without the aſſiſtance of ſome general officer to command the horſe, which employment was become vacant by the death of the brave lieutenant-general Jones, it was abſolutely neceſſary to commiſſionate ſome worthy perſon for that employment, and to authorize him to be one of their commiſſioners for the civil government." And thereupon he mentioned colonel Ludlow as a fit perſon for that charge; telling them, "That tho' he himſelf was empowered by virtue of his commiſſion from the parliament, to nominate the lieutenant-general of the horſe,

horſe, yet becauſe the gentleman he propoſed, was a member of parliament, and of the council of ſtate, he deſired, for the better ſecuring the obedience of the army to him, that the parliament might be moved to nominate and appoint him to that employment." In the end the council agreed, "That the houſe ſhould be moved to appoint col. Ludlow lieutenant-general of the horſe in Ireland; and that the lord-general Cromwell, major-general Ireton, colonel Ludlow, colonel John Jones, and major Salway, or any three of them, ſhould be authorized by act of parliament, to be commiſſioners for the adminiſtration of the civil affairs in that nation." And the parliament concurred with the council herein, with the addition only of Mr. Weaver, a member of the houſe, to be one of the commiſſioners for managing the civil government.

Sets out for Scotland.

The lord-general Cromwell having thus provided for the well ordering of the affairs of Ireland, on the 29th of June ſet out on his journey towards the army in the north. He received great demonſtrations of reſpect from the generality of the people as he paſſed along; and on the 4th of July he arrived at York, accompanied with many great officers of the army. Here the lord-mayor and aldermen attended him, and invited him and his officers to a ſtately dinner, where they were highly careſſed, and entertained with mighty expreſſions of joy. But having his buſineſs chiefly at heart, he ſtaid here no longer than to order ſupplies for the army, and haſten their rendezvous.

The Scots alarmed, ſend a letter to the parliament.

Before this, the committee of eſtates in Scotland, ſeeming to be ſurprized at the news of the Engliſh army's marching northwards, began to expoſtulate the matter with the parliament; ſending a letter to the ſpeaker by colonel Grey, to this effect, "That they wondered at the report of the Engliſh army's advance towards their country, and that many of their ſhips were ſecured by the Engliſh contrary

contrary to the act of pacification in the large treaty, whereby no acts of hoſtility were to be uſed againſt each other, without three month's warning to be given before-hand: That the forces they were raiſing were only for their own defence; and therefore they deſired to know, if the Engliſh army, now on their march northward, were deſigned for offence or defence; to guard their own borders, or invade Scotland." Letters of the ſame import were alſo ſent to Sir Arthur Haſlerigg, governor of Newcaſtle, major-general Lambert, and the lord-general Cromwell.

The parliament's declaration.

On the other hand, the parliament of England publiſhed a declaration of the grounds and reaſons of their army's advance northwards; ſome of which were to this effect: "Firſt, that the Scots, contrary to their agreement, had once already invaded England under duke Hamilton, and were now ready for a ſecond invaſion; ſo that the Engliſh were advanced againſt them only by way of prevention. Secondly, That altho' they could not claim to themſelves any authority or dominion over the Engliſh, yet in Scotland they proclaimed Charles Stuart king of England and Ireland; and ſince that, promiſed to aſſiſt him againſt this common-wealth. Thirdly, That they declared againſt the Engliſh parliament and army, as ſectaries, ranking them with malignants and papiſts; and had reſolved to impoſe their form of religion upon the Engliſh nation."

The Scots perceiving that with all their arts the parliament of England was not to be impoſed on, now laboured by all methods poſſible to render their army odious, and incenſe the people againſt them. To this end they gave out, "That Cromwell had a commiſſion to come for Scotland with fire and ſword, and was to give no quarter to any Scot; and that he was to have all he could conquer for himſelf and his ſoldiers." And they further reported,

"That

"That the Engliſh army intended to put all men to the ſword, and to thruſt hot irons through the women's breaſts." This exceedingly terrified the people, till they were ſomewhat eaſed by a declaration of the lord-general and the army, directed to the well-affected into Scotland, to the following purpoſe: "That being to advance into Scotland, for the ends expreſſed in the parliament's declaration; and conſidering the practices of ſome in that nation, whoſe deſigns were by unjuſt reproaches and falſe ſlanders to make their army odious, and repreſent them as monſters rather than men; therefore, to clear themſelves, they could do no otherwiſe than to remind them of their behaviour when they were before in Scotland: What injury was then done either to the perſons, houſes, or goods of any? Conſidering this, it was hoped that the preſent falſe reports would not affright them from their habitations." And they further declared, "from the integrity of their hearts, That ſuch of the gentry and commonalty, as inhabited where the army might come; they being none of thoſe who by their counſels laid the foundation of a ſecond invaſion, or cloſed with him who had endeavoured to engage foreign princes againſt the commonwealth of England, and had exerciſed actual hoſtility, by commiſſioning pirates to ſpoil the ſhips and goods belonging thereto; ſhould not have the leaſt violence or injury offered to them, either in body or goods; or if any ſhould happen, upon complaint made, redreſs and ſatisfaction ſhould immediately be had. Wherefore they deſired all perſons to continue in their habitations, aſſuring them they ſhould enjoy what they had without any diſturbance." Copies of this declaration were immediately ſent into Scotland; and the country folks that came to Berwick market, had their pockets filled with them, to carry home and diſperſe among their neighbours.

A declaration of the lord general Cromwell to the well-affected in Scotland.

The

The general in the mean time leaving York, came to Northallerton, and the next day to Darlington, where, as he paſſed by, the train of artillery, which was quartered there, ſaluted him with ſeven pieces of ordnance. From hence he poſts to Durham, where he was met by Sir Arthur Haſlerigg, who conducted him to Newcaſtle, where he was governor, and entertained him there with a great deal of gallantry. Here the lord-general and his officers kept a ſolemn faſt, to implore the bleſſing of God upon the preſent expedition: And then having duly conſidered the affairs of the army, he ſettled a method for ſupplying it from time to time with proviſions. This done, he leaves Newcaſtle, and haſtens towards Berwick; and his forces being all come up, he, on the 20th of July, cauſed a general rendezvous of them to be on Haggerſton-Moor, four miles from Berwick; where he was received by the army with great ſhouting and other ſigns of joy. Being all drawn up in battalia, there appeared a gallant body of about five thouſand horſe and eleven thouſand foot. The general marched them about two or three hundred paces, and then diſmiſſed them to their quarters, whilſt himſelf went to Berwick; whence the army's declaration was ſent into Scotland, containing the grounds of their march into that kingdom, one copy of it to the Scotch general, another to the parliament, and a third to the committee of eſtates.

The army being thus quartered upon the very edge of Scotland, the lord-general two days after, drew them out on a hill within Berwick bounds; where they had a full proſpect of the adjacent country, the ſtage whereon they were ſo ſoon to act their parts. Here he made a ſpeech to them, declaring the grounds of their preſent undertaking, and ſomething in relation to his coming from Ireland, and the providence that had deſigned this command to him; and exhorting them to be faithful

ful and courageous, and then not to doubt of a bleſſing from God, and all encouragement from himſelf. This ſpeech was anſwered with loud and unanimous acclamations from the ſoldiers; who being ordered to march, went on ſhouting as they entered Scotland. That night they quartered in the field near the lord Mordington's caſtle; where the lord-general, for the better preſerving good order and diſcipline, cauſed proclamation to be made throughout the camp, "That none, on pain of death, ſhould offer violence or injury to the perſons or goods of any in Scotland not in arms; and withal, that none on the ſame penalty do preſume, without ſpecial licence, to ſtraggle half a mile from their quarters." From hence they advanced for Coberſpath, and the next day arrived at Dunbar, where they were recruited with proviſions from the ſhips ſent thither from England for that purpoſe; for the country afforded them none, the Scotch eſtates having taken a courſe before-hand, to clear all the country from Berwick to Edinburgh, of all things that might afford any ſuccour or relief to the Engliſh army. But this entertainment did not in the leaſt diſcourage them, it being no other than they expected.

He enters Scotland.

Arrives at Dunbar.

The army being ſomewhat refreſhed at Dunbar, marched from thence to Haddington, twelve miles from Edinburgh; and all this without the leaſt oppoſition, not ſeeing all this while the face of an enemy in arms; nor did they in all their march ſee one Scotchman under ſixty years of age, nor any youth above ſix, and but very few women and children; they being all fled from their habitations, upon their miniſters telling them, "That the Engliſh would cut the throats of all between ſixty and ſixteen years old, cut off the right hands of all the youths under ſixteen and above ſix, burn the womens breaſts with hot irons, and deſtroy all before them." Whereupon, as the army marched thro'

Marches to Haddington.

ſome towns, poor women fell on their knees, begging that they would not burn their breaſts before they deſtroyed them, and children begged them to ſave their lives; ſo much did the people believe what their miniſters had told them.

The next day after the army's remove to Haddington, they underſtood that the enemy was diſpoſed to give them battle on a heath called Gladſmoor. Whereupon the Engliſh endeavoured to poſſeſs themſelves of the place before them, that they might have the advantage of ground in caſe they ſhould meet them: But the Scots, it ſeems, thought fit not to appear. Upon this major-general Lambert and colonel Whalley were ordered to advance with one thouſand four hundred horſe toward Muſcleborough, four miles from Edinburgh; and major Hains commanding the forlorn, faced the enemy within three quarters of a mile of their trenches. The next day the lord-general drew up his whole army before Edinburgh, near which the Scotch army was encamped upon a very advantageous ground. Here ſome ſkirmiſhes happened about the poſſeſſion of king Arthur's-hill, a place within a mile of the city; which the Engliſh gained, having beaten the enemy from it; and ſoon after poſſeſſed themſelves of a church and ſeveral houſes. But all theſe provocations could not prevail on the Scots to forſake their trenches, nor would they by any means be drawn forth to engage in a general combat. The lord-general Cromwell intended to have made an attempt upon them; but there fell ſo great a rain, which continued all night, and part of the next day, and his men were ſo wearied out with hard duty, that he was obliged to draw off his army to Muſcleborough, there to refreſh and recruit it with proviſions. As he drew off, the Scots, who laboured all they could to vex and diſtreſs the Engliſh army, without coming to a general engagement with them, ſallied out, and

Beats the enemy in ſeveral ſkirmiſhes.

and falling upon the rear-guard, put them into ſome diſorder; but major-general Lambert and colonel Whalley coming in to their relief, routed the Scots, and beat them back into their trenches. Lambert was wounded in the charge, and had his horſe killed under him; but they took two colours, and ſeveral priſoners of the enemy; whilſt the king ſtood all the while upon the caſtle, and ſaw the encounter. Some few of the Engliſh were killed, but far more of the Scots, amongſt whom were ſome perſons of quality. After this the Engliſh marched on quietly to Muſcleborough, though in a very wet and weary condition; that night they ſtood upon their guard, expecting every moment to be ſet upon by their enemy; as at laſt they were: For between three and four o'clock in the morning, major-general Montgomery, and col. Straughan, with fifteen companies of choice horſe, fell into their quarters with ſuch fury, that they bore down the guards, and put a regiment of horſe in diſorder. But the Engliſh army taking the alarm, charged them ſo home that they put them to the rout, and purſued them within half a league of Edinburgh, killing ſeveral officers and ſoldiers, and taking many priſoners. The Scots, when they fell firſt upon the Engliſh, cry'd out, "Give no quarter, but kill all;" and particularly they refuſed to give quarter to one captain Phineas, whom notwithſtanding the Engliſh brought off. There were two miniſters in the Scotch party, and one of them was taken priſoner; and it is ſaid the Scotch ſoldiers confeſſed, "That the miniſters did moſt ſtir them up to cruelty." The lord-general, to ſhew his generoſity, ſent the chief officers of the Scots who were wounded and taken, in his own coach, and the reſt in waggons to Edinburgh; which gained him great applauſe, and tended much to vindicate him from thoſe reports that had been given out of his cruelty, whereby many had been prejudiced againſt him.

Retreats to Muſcleborough.

Marches again to Dunbar for ſupplies.

The army having now well nigh ſpent their proviſions, the lord-general retires with them again to Dunbar, to meet and take in ſuch freſh ſupplies as were ſent thither by ſea, by order of the Engliſh parliament. Here they received their tents and proviſions from the ſhips; and the inhabitants of Dunbar being reduced to great want, the general ordered a quantity of peaſe and wheat, to the value of two hundred and forty pounds, of that which was ſent from London to the army, to be diſtributed among the poor people there. After convenient ſupply and refreſhment, and two days ſpent in exhortation to the army, and *ſeeking God* for his bleſſing upon their actions, they again advanced towards Edinburgh, where the Scots were keeping a ſolemn thankſgiving for their ſuppoſed great deliverance, imagining the Engliſh army was quite gone; and the miniſters gave God thanks, "for turning back the army of ſectaries by the way that they came, and putting terror into their hearts, which made them flee when none purſued." But the ſudden return of the army to Muſcleborough ſoon made them aſhamed of what they had been doing; though it ſeems Leſley was not ſo confident, but expected another viſit from the Engliſh; for upon their return, they found Muſcleborough more forlorn than before, he having commanded, "That the gude women of the town ſhould awe come away with their gear, and not any ſtay to brew or bake for the Engliſh army on pain of death."

Advances again towards Edinburgh.

About this time, a trumpet came to the army from lieutenant-general David Leſley, with a declaration of the general aſſembly, containing the ſtate of the quarrel in which they were to fight; which they deſired might be publickly known, and was to this effect: "That the general aſſembly conſidering there muſt be juſt grounds of ſtumbling, from the king's majeſty's refuſing to ſubſcribe the declaration concerning his former carriage, and reſolu-

reſolutions for the future in reference to the cauſe of God, the enemies and friends thereof; doth therefore declare, That the Kirk and kingdom will not own any *Malignant* party their quarrel or intereſt, but they will fight upon their former principles, for the cauſe of God and the kingdom. And therefore as they diſclaim all the ſin and guilt of the king and his houſe, ſo they will not own him nor his intereſt, any further than he ſhall diſclaim his and his father's oppoſition to the work of God, and the enemies thereof. And withal, they will with convenient ſpeed conſider of the papers ſent to them from Oliver Cromwell, and vindicate themſelves from the falſhoods contained therein."

To this the lord-general thought fit to return them this anſwer: "That the army continued the ſame as they profeſſed themſelves to the honeſt people of Scotland, wiſhing to them as to their own ſouls; it being no part of their buſineſs to hinder them in the worſhip of God according to their conſciences, as by his word they ought; and that they ſhould be ready to perform what obligation lay upon them by the *covenant*. But that under the pretence of the *covenant* miſtaken, a king ſhould be taken in by them, and impoſed on the Engliſh, and this called "the cauſe of God and the kingdom;" and this done upon the ſatisfaction of God's people in both nations, as alledged, together with a diſowning of *Malignants*, although the head of them be received, who at this very inſtant hath a party fighting in Ireland, and prince Rupert at ſea on a *Malignant* account; the French and Iriſh ſhips daily making depredations upon the Engliſh coaſts, and all by virtue of his commiſſion; therefore the army cannot believe, that whilſt *Malignants* are fighting and plotting againſt them on the one ſide, the Scots declaring for him on the other, ſhould not be an eſpouſing of a *Malignant* intereſt or quarrel, but a mere fighting on former grounds and prin-

principles. If the ſtate of the quarrel be thus, and you ſay you reſolve to fight the army, you will have opportunity to do that; elſe what means our abode here? And our hope is in the Lord, &c."

He encamps on Pencland hills.

General Cromwell finding he could by no means provoke the Scots to an engagement, on the 17th of Auguſt marched his army from Muſcleborough, and pitched his tents on Pencland hills, within view of Edinburgh. In this march the enemy drew forth ſeveral bodies of horſe and faced the Engliſh, but came not within gun-ſhot. The army being quartered on the hills, the lord-general ſent out two troops of dragoons to poſſeſs themſelves of Collington-houſe. About this time, a ſerjeant in colonel Cox's regiment and three ſoldiers his aſſociates, were ſentenced to be hanged for plundering a houſe and ſtealing a cloak; which ſentence was executed on the ſerjeant, for a terror to others; but the other three were pardoned. So careful was the general to preſerve the country, according to his declaration.

On the 18th the Scots drew forth on the weſt ſide of Edinburgh, between the river Leith and the ſea, to the number of three thouſand horſe, apprehending the Engliſh deſigned to poſſeſs a paſs over the ſaid river. The lord-general ſeeing this, drew out a forlorn, and went in perſon before them, to ſhew how ready he was to fight. Being come near to their body, one who knew the lord-general, fired a carbine at him: Upon which, he called out and told him, "That if he had been one of his ſoldiers, he ſhould have been caſhiered for firing at that diſtance." This was all that was done; for the Scots ſtill having no mind to fight, returned back again to their quarters. And the next day, part of the Engliſh army took the houſe of Redhaugh, belonging to Sir James Hamilton. It was a garriſon ſituated within a mile and a half of Edinburgh, and had about eighty foot to defend it; and tho' the

Takes Redhaugh.

the Engliſh ſtormed it in ſight of the enemy's whole army, yet no party came out to relieve it. Three-ſcore were taken priſoners here; and the place was of great advantage to the Engliſh.

On the 26th of Auguſt, the Scots ſent to general Cromwell, to deſire a conference between ſome of themſelves and ſome of his officers. This being agreed to, and a convenient place appointed, the lord Wariſtoun ſecretary of ſtate, Sir John Brown, colonel Sraughan, and Mr. Douglaſs a miniſter, with ſome others, attended for that purpoſe. The chief deſign of this conference, was to wipe off a pretended aſperſion that was caſt upon them, and ſpread over both armies, as if they kept themſelves in trenches and holes, not daring to fight. And therefore, the better to vindicate themſelves from theſe calumnies, they aſſured the Engliſh, "That when opportunity ſerved, it ſhould be ſeen that they wanted not courage to give them battle."

The next morning the Scoth army, as if they deſigned ſo ſoon to make good what they had ſaid, drew out upon a march; which the lord-general Cromwell no ſooner obſerved, but he prepared to meet them, hoping now to have ſome fair play with them. And the ſoldiers alſo expected the ſame thing, being overjoyed at the very thoughts of engaging; in order to which they immediately took down their tents, laid aſide their knapſacks, and put themſelves every way into a fit poſture to meet and receive their enemy. But the Scots, it ſeems, had ſtill no mind to come to an engagement; for when the Engliſh army drew near them, they found they were ſeparated from them by a great bog and a deep ditch; ſo that they could not come at them to engage, without running ſuch hazards as were not neceſſary at that time. All that the lord-general could do for the preſent, was to thunder againſt them with his cannon. Both armies ſtood all that night in battalia; and the next morning,

morning, the great guns roared on both ſides for about the ſpace of an hour; by which one and twenty of the Engliſh were killed or wounded, but many more of the Scots, who, for all that, would not remove to any other ground to engage, nor join in a cloſer fight.

Makes divers retreats.

Upon this the lord-general Cromwell marched back his army to their former quarters on Pencland hills; where they were no ſooner arrived but they were informed that the Scots had ſent out a party to take in Muſcleborough and Preſton-pans, thereby to cut off proviſions from the Engliſh army. Hereupon the lord-general gave orders for the army to march that way; which they were very forward to do, as being to fight for their victuals. But it being a very ſtormy and tempeſtuous night, and very dark, he ſtaid their march till the next morning; when they arrived at Muſcleborough without any moleſtation from the enemy, who in the mean time took poſſeſſion of what they had left behind them on Pencland hills; and then dogging them in the rear, watched all opportunities to diſtreſs them.

F. Orleans gives us this brief account of theſe various marches of the lord-general Cromwell, in order to bring the Scots to an engagement. "Cromwell, ſays he, whoſe intereſt it was to endeavour to come ſoon to a battle, in a country where his army found nothing to ſubſiſt on, marched directly towards the enemy, who lay encamped between Edinburgh and Leith, to cover thoſe two places, and the heart of the country. The cunning Engliſhman tried all ways to draw Leſlye to fight; but he underſtood his trade, and it being his intereſt to protract time, ſo to ruin the enemy's army, which had neither ammunition nor proviſions but what came from England at a great charge, and with much difficulty, he kept himſelf ſo ſtrongly intrenched, that Cromwell durſt not attack

attack him. The Engliſh general uſed all the baits and ſtratagems known in war, to oblige the Scot to fight him; ſometimes drawing him towards Dunbar, as if he would have beſieged Edinburgh, and again moving to get between Sterling and him. But the Scot dexterouſly avoided all theſe ſnares; and though the Engliſh army kept up cloſe with him, he ſo ordered his motions, and poſted himſelf ſo advantageouſly, that the whole month of Auguſt was ſpent in thoſe counter-marches, ſo tedious to a man of Cromwell's ſpirit, who could never meet with an opportunity either to fight in open field, or attack his enemy in his camp."

By this means, and by frequent ſkirmiſhes and harraſſing the Engliſh, the Scots hoped at laſt to tire them out, depending much upon the diſagreeableneſs of the climate to their conſtitution, eſpecially, if they ſhould keep them in the field till winter, which begins betimes in thoſe parts. And their counſels ſucceeded according to their wiſh; for by this time the Engliſh army, through hard duty, want of proviſions (the ſtores brought by ſea being now exhauſted) and the rigour of the ſeaſon, grew very ſickly, and diminiſhed daily; the Scotch army in the mean time increaſing, and continuing in good heart. The lord-general reflecting upon the ſad ſtate of his affairs, and conſidering the weak and crazy condition of his army, reſolved in this exigency to retreat with them once more to Dunbar. Authors differ as to the deſign of this march; ſome thinking it was to receive further ſupplies from the Engliſh ſhips; others, that it was in order to return into England; and others again ſuppoſe, that the general intended, by garriſoning Dunbar, to lie there ſecurely for ſome time, till they might recover ſtrength, and receive convenient recruits both of horſe and foot from Berwick. The lord Clarendon ſays, "Whether that march was to re-

tire ont of ſo barren a country for want of proviſions, (which no doubt were very ſcarce; and beſides, the ſeaſon of the year would not permit them to depend upon all neceſſary ſupplies by ſea;) or whether that motion was only to draw the Scots from the advantageous poſt of which they were poſſeſſed, is not yet underſtood." And biſhop Burnet tells us, That Cromwell being preſſed by the Scotch army, retired to Dunbar, where his ſhips and proviſions lay. This ſeems to be very true, and that Cromwell was then only on the defenſive; but whether at his departure from Muſcleborough he had actually deſigned to return to England does not appear ſo certain: Though Ludlow tells us, that when the army came to Dunbar, they ſhipped their baggage and ſick men, and deſigned to return to England; and others ſay, that Cromwell wanting proviſions, was there ſhipping off his foot and cannon, deſigning only the next day to break thro' with his horſe.

Whatever the lord-general's deſign was, he, in purſuance of the fore-mentioned reſolution, on the 30th of Auguſt, drew out his army from Muſcleborough, and marched towards Haddington. The Scots obſerving the army to retire, followed them cloſe; and falling upon the rear-guard of horſe in the night, having the advantage of a clear moon, beat them up to the rear-guard of foot. Which alarm, coming ſuddenly upon them, put them into ſome diſorder. But the Scots, as ſome ſay, wanting courage to proſecute the advantage, and withal, a cloud overſhadowing the moon, gave the Engliſh an opportunity to ſecure themſelves and recover the main body. Being come to Haddington, where they were in continual danger of being aſſaulted by the enemy, the general ordered a ſtrict watch to be ke kept, to prevent the worſt. The Scots conceiving they had now a more than ordinary advantage, about midnight attempted the Engliſh

liſh quarters on the weſt end of the town; but were ſoon repulſed, and ſet further off. The next day, being the firſt of September, the Scots being drawn up at the weſt end of the town in a very advantageous place, the Engliſh drew out on the eaſt into an open field, very fit for both armies to engage; where having waited ſome hours for the coming of the Scots, and perceiving that they would not fight but upon an advantage, they, purſuant to their former reſolution, marched away to Dunbar.

The Scotch army followed at a convenient diſtance, being reinforced with the addition of three regiments; and ſeeing the Engliſh lodged in Dunbar, hovered about them upon the adjacent hills like a thick cloud, menacing nothing but ruin and deſtruction, and looking down upon them as their ſure prey.

Cromwell in great diſtreſs.

The lord-general was now in great diſtreſs, and looked upon himſelf as undone. His army was in a very weak and ſickly condition, and in great want of proviſions, whereby their courage alſo was very much abated; whilſt the Scots were ſtout and hearty in their own country, and upon very advantageous ground. And beſides, they more than doubled the Engliſh in number, being about twenty-ſeven thouſand, whereas the others were but twelve thouſand. Some ſay they had in their army about thirty thouſand horſe and foot; and the Engliſh were reduced to ten thouſand at the moſt. General Cromwell, with this ſickly company, was now hemmed in on every ſide by thoſe greater numbers of his enemies; who to make ſure work, had alſo by a ſtrong party ſecured Coberſpath, the only paſs between him and Berwick, thereby to hinder all proviſions or relief from thence, or to cut off all retreat from the Engliſh army, who had not above three days forage for their horſes. Thus were they reduced to the ut-

moſt ſtraits, ſo that they had now no way leſt, but either to yield themſelves priſoners, and tamely give up themſelves a prey to their inſulting enemies; or to fight upon thoſe unequal terms, and under thoſe great diſadvantages.

In this extremity the lord-general, on the 2d of September, called a council of war, in which, after ſome debate, it was reſolved to fall upon the enemy the next morning, about an hour before day; and accordingly the ſeveral regiments were ordered to their reſpective poſts. Here we are told by biſhop Burnet, that Cromwell, under theſe preſſing difficulties, called his officers together to ſeek the Lord, as they expreſſed it: After which, he bid all about him take heart, for God had certainly heard them, and would appear for them. Then walking in the earl of Roxburgh's gardens, that lay under the hill, and by perſpective glaſſes diſcerning a great motion in the Scotch camp, Cromwell thereupon ſaid, God is delivering them into our hands, they are coming down to us. And the biſhop ſays, that Cromwell loved to talk much of that matter all his life long afterwards. The Scots, it ſeems, had now at laſt reſolved to fight the Engliſh, and to that end were drawing down the hill, where, if they had continued, the Engliſh could not have gone up to engage them without very great diſadvantage. This reſolution was contrary to Leſley's opinion, who, tho' he was in the chief command, had a committee of the ſtates to give him his orders, among whom Wariſtoun was one. Theſe being weary of lying in the fields, thought that Leſley did not make haſte enough to deſtroy the army of the ſectaries, as they called them. Leſley on the other hand told them, that by lying there all was ſure, but that by engaging in an action with brave and deſperate men, all might be loſt; and yet they ſtill preſſed him to fall on. Many have imagined that there

there was treachery in all this; but the fore-mentioned author ſays, he was perſuaded there was no treachery in it; only Wariſtoun was too hot, and Leſlye was too cold, and yielded too eaſily to their humours, which he ſhould not have done. This reſolution of the Scots, to fall upon the Engliſh, was for ſome time retarded by the unſeaſonableneſs of the weather; and in the mean while, as we have already obſerved, Cromwell reſolved to fall upon them.

Totally the Scotch army in the battle of Dunbar.

The night before the battle proving dreadfully rainy and tempeſtuous, the lord-general took more than ordinary care of himſelf and his army. He refreſhed his men in the town, and above all things ſecured his match-locks againſt the weather, whilſt his enemies neglected theirs. The Scots were all night employed in coming down the hill; and early in the morning, being Tueſday the third of September, before they were put in order, general Cromwell drew out a ſtrong party of horſe, and falling upon the horſe guards made them retire. Then immediately his bodies both of horſe and foot advancing, the fight ſoon grew hot on all ſides; till after about an hour's diſpute, the whole numerous army of the Scots was totally routed. Two regiments ſtood their ground, and were almoſt all killed in their ranks. The reſt fled, and were purſued as far as Haddington with great execution. About four thouſand were ſlain on the place and in the purſuit, and ten thouſand taken priſoners, many of whom were deſperately wounded. Fifteen thouſand arms, all the artillery and ammunition, with above two hundred colours, were taken; and all with the loſs of ſcarce three hundred Engliſh. Priſoners of note were Sir James Lumſdale, lieutenant general of the foot, the lord Libberton, (who ſoon after died of his wounds) adjutant-general Bickerton, ſcout-maſter Campbell, Sir William Douglaſs, the lord Grandiſon, and colonel Gordon;

don; beſides twelve lieutenat-colonels, ſix majors, forty-two captains, ſeventy-five lieutenants, &c. The two Leſlyes eſcaped to Edinburgh, which upon the news of this defeat was immediately quitted by its garriſon, and Leith reſolved to admit the conquerors, being not able to keep them out. Thus this formidable army, which had ſo lately triumphed in a confident aſſurance of victory, was totally defeated and overthrown by one not half ſo numerous, which at the ſame time was reduced to the laſt extremity. But this extremity making them fix upon ſo firm a reſolution either to conquer or die, and withal, their falling ſo ſuddenly upon the Scots, when they ſo little expected them, but deſigned firſt to fall upon them, ſeem to be the true occaſion of this wonderful turn of affairs. The lord-general himſelf drew up a narrative of this memorable victory, and ſent it by a courier to the council of ſtate, who ordered it to be read in all the churches of London with ſolemn thankſgiving: And the colours taken in this battle being ſent up to the parliament, were by their order hung up as trophies in Weſtminſter-hall.

CHAP. IV.

From the battle of Dunbar, to the battle of Worceſter.

THIS great ſucceſs put new life into the Engliſh ſoldiers, who by this means, after having been ſo long toſſed up and down, almoſt ſpent by hard duty, and reduced to ſuch extremity, that they were in danger of being ſtarved, now met with good accommodation and refreſhment, and had an opportunity to furniſh themſelves with all neceſſary ſupplies. Soon after the battle was over, the lord-general, the better to improve his victory, and to ſecure what he had obtained, ſent Lambert with a ſtrong party of horſe and foot,

foot, to attempt Edinburgh, the chief city, and ſecure Leith, that the Engliſh ſhips might there the more readily and conveniently ſupply the army with all neceſſaries. The Scots, upon the news of their army's defeat, having deſerted Edinburgh, Lambert on the ſame day obtained a quiet poſſeſſion of it, as alſo of Leith; in both of which places were found ſeveral pieces of ordnance, many arms, and a conſiderable quantity of proviſions; which the Scots, by reaſon of their haſte, could not carry away with them. But tho' the Engliſh had thus poſſeſſed themſelves of the town of Edinburgh, the caſtle ſtill remained in the hands of the enemy; which, though judged impregnable, was at laſt reduced by Cromwell; as we ſhall ſee in its proper place.

The lord-general ſtaid ſome ſmall time at Dunbar, to ſettle matters, and to diſpoſe of the priſoners; who being ſo numerous, that it ſeemed as much trouble to keep them as it was to take them, about five thouſand of them, who were moſt ſick and wounded, were ſet at liberty; and the reſt were driven like turkies to Berwick, by the Engliſh ſoldiers appointed to convey them thither. Soon after Lambert had taken poſſeſſion of Edinburgh, the lord-general himſelf came up, and cauſed his whole army to march into that city; which was done without any loſs, ſave that one of the ſoldiers had his arm ſhot off by a cannon-bullet from the caſtle. And now all poſſible diligence was uſed in fortifying Leith, it being judged to be the beſt and moſt commodious ſheltering-place the Engliſh could have in Scotland, for the winter-ſeaſon.

On the Sunday after the lord-general had entered Edinburgh, he ſent a trumpet to the caſtle, to acquaint the governor, that the miniſters who were with him might return to the churches, and have free liberty to preach there; but the miniſters returned him this anſwer, "That they found nothing

thing expreſſed, whereby to build any ſecurity for their perſons; and for their return, they reſolved to reſerve themſelves for better times, and to wait upon him who had hidden his face for a while from the ſons of Jacob." General Cromwell reply'd in a letter to the governor, as follows:

"Our kindneſs offered to the miniſters with you was done with ingenuity, thinking to have met with the like; but I am ſatisfied to tell thoſe with you, that if their maſter's ſervice (as they call it) were chiefly in their eye, imagination of ſufferings would not have cauſed ſuch a return; much leſs the practices of our party (as they are pleaſed to ſay) upon the miniſters of Chriſt in England, have been an argument of perſonal perſecution. The miniſters of England are ſupported, and have liberty to preach the goſpel, though not to rail; nor under pretence thereof, to over-top the civil power, or debaſe it as they pleaſe. No man hath been troubled in England or Ireland for preaching the goſpel; nor has any miniſter been moleſted in Scotland, ſince the coming of the army hither. The ſpeaking truth becomes the miniſters of Chriſt. When miniſters pretend to a glorious reformation, and lay the foundation thereof in getting to themſelves power, and can make worldly mixtures to accompliſh the ſame, ſuch as their late agreement with their king, and hopes by him to carry on their deſigns, they may know, that the Sion promiſed, and hoped for, will not be built with ſuch untempered mortar. And for the unjuſt invaſion they mention, time was when an army of Scotland came into England, not called by the ſupreme authority. We have ſaid in our papers, with what hearts, and upon what account we came; and the Lord hath heard us, tho' you would not, upon as ſolemn an appeal as any experience can parallel. When they truſt purely to the ſword of the ſpirit, which is the word of God, which is powerful to bring down ſtrong

ſtrong holds, and every imagination that exalts itſelf, which alone is able to ſquare and fit the ſtones for the New Jeruſalem; then, and not before, and by that means, and no other, ſhall Jeruſalem (which is to be the praiſe of the whole earth) the City of the Lord, be built, the Sion of the Holy One of Iſrael. I have nothing to ſay to you, but that I am, Sir, your humble ſervant, O. Cromwell."

The Scotch miniſters ſent an anſwer to this letter, and general Cromwell another letter in anſwer to them; in which he ſays: "We look upon miniſters as helpers of, not lords over the faith of God's people: I appeal to their conſciences, whether any denying their doctrines, and diſſenting, ſhall not incur the cenſure of ſectary; and what is this but to deny chriſtians their liberty, and aſſume the infallible chair? Where do you find in ſcripture, that preaching is included in your function? Tho' an approbation from men hath order in it, and may do well, yet he that hath not a better than that, he hath none at all. I hope he that aſcended up on high, may give his gifts to whom he pleaſe; and if thoſe gifts be the ſeal of miſſion, be not envious, tho' Eldad and Medad propheſy: You know who bids us covet earneſtly the beſt gifts, but chiefly that we may propheſy; which the apoſtle explains there to be a ſpeaking to inſtruction, and edification, and comfort; which the inſtructed, edified, and comforted can beſt tell the energy and effect of. If ſuch evidence be, I ſay again, take heed you envy not, for your own ſakes; leſt you be guilty of a greater fault than Moſes reproved in Joſhua, for envying for his ſake. Indeed you err thro' the miſtake of the ſcriptures: Approbation is an act of conveniency, in reſpect of order; not of neceſſity, to give faculty to preach the goſpel. Your pretended fear, leſt error ſhould ſtep in, is like the man that would keep all the wine out of the country, leſt men ſhould be drunk. It will be found an unjuſt and unwiſe jealouſy, to deny a

man the liberty he hath by nature, upon a ſuppoſition he may abuſe it; when he doth abuſe it, judge." The miniſters ſtill refuſing to return to their churches, the lord-general cauſed Engliſh miniſter to officiate in their places.

All the chief magiſtrates of Edinburgh, together with the committees of the Kirk and State, fled from thence to Sterling, where they endeavoured to ſecure themſelves as well as they could. Hither likewiſe reſorted thoſe who had eſcaped at Dunbar, and did what they could to piece up their ſhattered army, that by a ſecond encounter they might endeavour to regain their loſt credit: To which end recruits were alſo raiſed by the committee of eſtates; but it was thought fit to make ſome change in the officers, not only in the inferior ones, but alſo in the great commanders: For old Leſley, earl of Leven, was laid aſide with diſhonour, though David Leſley was continued.

But all theſe methods ſignified but little, whilſt the Scots were ſo divided among themſelves, and ſplit into ſo many parties and factions. The ruling party was that which was for the King and Kirk; tho' theſe were again ſub-divided into *reſolutioners* and *proteſtors*. The reſolutioners were ſo called from their adhering to thoſe reſolutions, which were paſſed by the committee of eſtates, and the commiſſioners of the Kirk; "That thoſe who had made deſection, or had hitherto been too backward in the work, ought to be admitted to make profeſſion of their repentance; and then, after ſuch profeſſion made, might, in the preſent extremity, be admitted to defend and ſerve their country." Againſt theſe reſolutions ſome of thoſe two bodies proteſted; who, together with thoſe who adhered to them, were called the proteſtors. They alledged, "That to take in men of known enmity to the cauſe, was a ſort of betraying it, becauſe it was putting it in their power to betray it; that to admit them to a profeſſion of repentance, was a profanation

ſanation and mocking of God; for that it was manifeſt, they were willing to comply with thoſe terms, though againſt their conſcience, only that they might get into the army; and that they could not expect the bleſſing of God upon an army ſo conſtituted." They had a great advantage over the others as to this particular; for this mock penitence was indeed a very ſcandalous practice. Theſe proceedings gave riſe to another faction, which prevailed chiefly in the weſtern counties; where a great many met, and formed an aſſociation apart, as well againſt the king, and the defection in the Kirk party, as againſt the army of ſectaries. Theſe were called *remonſtrators*, from their publiſhing a remonſtrance againſt all the proceedings in the late treaty with the king, when, as they ſaid, it was viſible by the commiſſion he granted to James Graham (meaning the marquis of Montroſs) that his heart was not ſincere; and when he took the *covenant*, they had reaſon to believe he did it with a reſolution not to maintain it, ſince in his whole deportment and private converſation, he diſcovered a ſecret enmity to the work of God. They imputed the ſhameful defeat at Dunbar, to their prevaricating in theſe things: And concluded, "That therefore, according to the declaration of Kirk and State, Auguſt 13, 1650, they diſclaimed all the ſin and guilt of the king and his houſe, both old and new; and that they could not own him nor his intereſt in the ſtate of the quarrel betwixt them and the enemy, againſt whom they were to hazard their lives." The chief leaders of this party were colonel Ker and colonel Straughan. Their remonſtrance, being brought to the committee of eſtates at Sterling, was after much debate condemned as diviſive, factious, and ſcandalous; in which alſo the commiſſioners of the Kirk concurred; but ſo nevertheleſs as, if poſſible, to bring Ker and his party over by fair means; to which purpoſe, ſeve-

ral papers paſſed between them, and all methods were uſed to heal theſe diviſions. Beſides theſe, there was another party in the north, who were purely for the king, without any regard to the Kirk.

Various motions of Cromwell.

Whilſt the Scots were thus divided among themſelves, and their animoſities grew higher and higher, the lord-general Cromwell was active with his victorious forces, which ranged at pleaſure about the country. Having his head-quarters at Edinburgh, and having there given his men all neceſſary refreſhment, he drew out the greateſt part of his army for Sterling, and with them faced the caſtle, having at firſt ſome deſign to ſtorm it; but perceiving the horſe could not well ſecond the foot, he changed his reſolution, and returned back to Edinburgh. Whither being arrived, he ordered all the boats in the Frith to be carried to Leith, to prevent the Scots ferrying over into Fife in order to join with the enemy there.

In the mean time preparations were making for the ſiege of Edinburgh caſtle; in which the lord-general having given the neceſſary orders and directions, marched away ſix regiments of foot, and nine of horſe and dragoons, for Glaſgow; and by the way of Linlithgow, ſent a paper to the committees of eſtates, to try once more what might be effected by fair means; a copy of which was alſo at the ſame time ſent to colonel Ker and Straughan, for the ſame purpoſe. There was little elſe remarkable in this expedition, but the taking of a ſmall garriſon near Kelſith: And it may be remembered, that when the Engliſh came to Glaſgow, and ſaw one of the legs of the late marquis of Montroſs hanging over the gate, they remembering his valiant actions, took it down and buried it privately.

The ſeaſon now admitting of no conſiderable action, the lord-general returned again to Edinburgh; where he publiſhed a proclamation againſt a com-

a company of ſturdy fellows, called *Moſs-Troopers*, who very much moleſted the army, and by the treachery and connivance of the country people, killed many of the Engliſh ſoldiers, and grew ſo bold as to ſteal ſome of the train horſes. The proclamation was to this effect: "That finding many of the army were not only ſpoiled and robbed, but alſo others of them barbarouſly butchered and ſlain, by a ſort of out-laws, not under the diſcipline of any army; and finding that all tenderneſs to the country produced no other effect, than their compliance with, and protection of ſuch perſons: Therefore, conſidering that it is in the country's power to detect and diſcover them; and perceiving their motion to be ordinarily by the invitation and intelligence of country people; he declared, that where-ever theſe enormities ſhould be committed for the future, life ſhould be required for life, and a plenary ſatisfaction for the goods thus ſtolen, of thoſe pariſhes and places where the fact ſhould be committed, unleſs they did diſcover and produce the offender."

Monk reduces Derlington-houſe, and Roſlan caſtle.

Soon after this proclamation was publiſhed, colonel Monk, with a commanded party of foot, four pieces of Ordnance, and a mortar-piece, was ſent to reduce Derlington-houſe, one of the neſts of theſe Moſs troopers; which being joined by Lambert, he ſoon effected, taking all that were within priſoners; whereof two of the moſt notorious, with their captain, one Waite, were preſently ſhot to death. After this, Monk taking with him a party of ſix hundred foot, marched againſt Roſlan caſtle; where, tho' at firſt he met with ſome reſiſtance, it was quickly ſurrendered to him.

The lord-general, who would not let ſlip any opportunity, made what uſe he could of the differences and diſſenſions that were in Scotland, and endeavoured to improve them to his own advantage. To this end, he ſent ſeveral times to Ker and Straughan

Straughan in the weſt, to invite them to come in to him. This had that good effect that Straughan ſhortly after withdrew himſelf from his party, and cloſed with the Engliſh, leaving Ker to command all himſelf. The lord-general ſtill endeavoured to draw him over, but all in vain; and having an eſpecial eye upon this party, ſince he could not prevail by fair means, he reſolved, notwithſtanding the difficulty of marching at that time of the year, to endeavour to reduce them by force. Accordingly, about the end of November, he ordered major-general Lambert, and commiſſary-general Whalley, with five regiments of horſe, to march from Peebles to Hamilton, on the ſouth ſide of the river Clyde; whilſt himſelf marched from Edinburgh on the north ſide. Having ſtaid here ſome ſmall time, till he had good intelligence where Lambert and his party were; and withal, the weather being very bad, he marched back again to Edinburgh. Ker having notice of this, as alſo that Lambert was at Hamilton, thought he had now an opportunity to ſurprize him: And accordingly ſetting upon a ſudden march in the night, with about fifteen hundred horſe, he before day with great fury broke into Lambert's quarters; and meeting with no reſiſtance at his firſt entry, he confidently marched up to the middle of the town. But a captain with about forty ſoldiers, having upon the alarm ſuddenly mounted, and being favoured by a tree that lay croſs the ſtreet, obſtructed their march till the whole garriſon was alarmed. The ſuddenneſs of this attempt put the Engliſh into ſome ſurpriſe; but ſoon recovering themſelves, they, to make ſure work of it, left part of their forces in the town, to encounter the enemy, and to ſecure the rear, whilſt the reſt drew out with a deſign to ſurround the enemy's whole party; who, perceiving this in time, very dexterouſly faced about, and betook themſelves to flight. In this

Victory over Ker in the weſt.

this encounter, which was but ſhort, near a hundred of the Scots were ſlain, and as many made priſoners. Ker himſelf was wounded and taken, with his lieutenant-colonel and captain-lieutenant. Thoſe who fled were purſued as far as Air, where a party of a hundred and fifty, being the chief remains of the Remonſtrators, were alſo put to the rout. This ſucceſs was the more conſiderable, in that it would have been very difficult to have engaged them againſt their will; for they being well acquainted with the country, and having the inhabitants on their ſide, could march about as they pleaſed; whereas 'twould have been very dangerous for the Engliſh to have followed them without a great part of their army; Leſley then lying at Sterling with the Scoth forces, watching all advantages.

The ſiege of Edinburgh caſtle.

This ſeaſonable victory was ſoon followed by the ſurrender of Edinburgh caſtle, the moſt conſiderable ſtrong-hold in Scotland, which was thought impregnable by ſituation and art. It is ſeated upon a high abrupt rock, has but one entrance into it, and that both ſteep, and by which but two or three can go a-breaſt, and overlooks and commands all places about it; ſo that the lord-general's men were often very much galled in their quarters at Edinburgh, by the great guns playing from thence.

When general Cromwell came firſt before this ſtrong place, which was ſoon after the defeat at Dunbar, he ſummoned the governor, colonel William Dundaſs, to deliver it up to him; which having no effect, he began to conſult with his chief officers how to reduce it by force. Nothing ſeemed to encourage the attempting of it by ſtorm; and all probable ways being debated, it was at laſt reſolved to force it by mines. In order to this work, both Engliſh and Scoth miners were ſent for, and towards the latter end of September,

tember, the galleries were begun in the night; which the beſieged no ſooner ſaw, but they fell to firing upon them with five great guns, and ſeveral vollies of ſmall ſhot. But this proved no impediment to the Engliſh, who with indefatigable labour wrought thro' the earth, till they came to the main rock. This put them to a ſtand, but did not make them give over; for having contrived ways to make holes in the rock, they filled them full of powder, and endeavoured to make it fly by firing.

But this mining work going but ſlowly on, the lord-general fearing it would not anſwer his deſign, and that he ſhould not be able to blow the caſtle up into the air, endeavoured now to level it with the ground; and to that end, with mighty labour and pains, he raiſed a battery fortified with gabions and other contrivances, deſigning to play inceſſantly from thence with cannons and mortars. The governor was very much amazed at this, who now began to think it a vain thing to endeavour to withſtand the Engliſh induſtry; tho' it muſt be ſaid of him, that he did his utmoſt to anſwer the expectations of thoſe by whom he was entruſted with this important charge. The battery, notwithſtanding all obſtructions, being raiſed to a convenient height, four mortar-pieces and ſix battering guns were drawn from Leith, and forthwith mounted againſt the caſtle. But before the word of command was given, the lord-general thought fit once more to ſummon the governor; which he did on the 11th of December, in the following terms; "That he being reſolved, by God's aſſiſtance, to uſe ſuch means as were put into his hands, for the reducing of the caſtle, did, for preventing further miſery, demand the rendering of the place to him upon fit conditions." To this the governor returned this anſwer, "That being entruſted by the committee of eſtates of Scotland, for the keeping of the caſtle,

he

he could not deliver it up without leave from them: And therefore he desired ten days time to send to them, and receive their answer; upon receipt of which the general should receive his final resolve." But the lord-general, knowing his time was precious, made this sudden reply. "That it concerned not him to know the obligations of them that trusted him; but that he might have honourable terms for himself and those that were with him: But he could not give liberty to him to consult with the committee of estates, because he heard those among them that were honest, enjoyed not satisfaction, and the rest were now discovered to seek another interest than they had formerly pretended to; in which, if he desired to be satisfied, he might have information at a nearer distance than St. John's-town."

It was designed, that this parley should continue till ten in the morning, December 13, but some great shot flying from the castle the night before, orders was given the next morning to try the mortar-pieces, three with shells, and the fourth with stones. Which being done accordingly, the governor thereupon returned an answer to the general's last message; in which "He adjured him in the fear and name of the living God (which was called upon in the acceptance of his great trust) that liberty might be granted for him to send to the committee of estates; and said, that he would be very willing to receive information from those countrymen whom he could trust." To this the lord-general reply'd, "That whoever he would appoint to come to him, should have liberty for one hour; but to send to the committee of estates, he could not grant." The governor took no notice of this, till the mortar-pieces and great guns had for some small time played with great violence against the castle. This moved him to send forth a drum, desiring a conference with the provost of

Aberdeen, and one more then in Edinburgh; to which the general readily conſented: But they knowing it to be an affair of the utmoſt importance, abſolutely refuſed to concern themſelves in it, leaving the governor to take his own courſe. Hereupon Dundaſs was in great perplexity, and knew not what to do; till having revolved the matter a little in his mind, he at laſt came to this reſult, to acquit himſelf manfully in the defence of the place. Accordingly a red enſign was immediately hung out in defiance on the top of the caſtle, and the great guns began to roar from the battlements of the wall. Upon this, the general thought it high time for him to exert his utmoſt force; and accordingly ſent in upon them ſuch continual ſhowers of ſhot, that the governor in a ſhort time thought fit to beat a parley, and offered to ſurrender, if his former requeſt, of ſending to the committee of eſtates, might be granted. But this being ſtill refuſed, Dundaſs and his ſoldiers thought it not good to hold out any longer againſt ſuch violent aſſaults; and ſo entering upon a treaty with the lord-general, came to an agreement upon theſe articles: "Firſt, That the caſtle of Edinburgh, the cannon, arms, ammunition, magazines, and furniture of war, be delivered up to the lord-general Cromwell. Secondly, That the Scots have liberty to carry away their publick regiſters, publick moveables, private evidences and writs, into Fife or Sterling. Thirdly, That as to thoſe goods in the caſtle belonging to any perſon whatſoever, the owners ſhould have them reſtored to them: This to be proclaimed, that all might take notice of it. Fourthly, That the governor, and all military officers and ſoldiers, might depart without moleſtation, carrying their arms and baggage, with drums beating and colours flying, to Brunſiſland in Fife: Moreover, the ſick and wounded ſoldiers to ſtay in Edinburgh till cured, and then to receive the

'Tis ſurrendered to Cromwell.

the ſame benefit of articles with the reſt of their fellows."

According to theſe articles, this ſtrong caſtle, which gloried in it's virginity, as having never before yielded to any conqueror, was after a ſiege of three months delivered up to the victorious Cromwell on the 24th day of December; whereby there alſo fell into his hands fifty-three pieces of ordnance, ſome of them remarkable both for ſize and beauty, eight thouſand arms, fourſcore barrels of powder, and all the king's hangings, tapeſtry and jewels. The ſubduing of this place was a thing ſo unexpected by ſeveral that the Scots cried out, "That Cromwell took it only by ſilver bullets." But what appeared moſt ſtrange to others, and which made well on general Cromwell's ſide was, that the Scotch army, which lay not very far off, ſhould never attempt the relief of this moſt important place.

The king crowned at Scone.

The main buſineſs the Scots were now intent upon, was the coronation of the king; which had been long delayed by the kirk and ſtates, that he might have time to "humble himſelf for his father's ſins and his own tranſgreſſions." But the vigorous proceeding of the Engliſh put them at laſt upon haſtening that which they of themſelves were backward enough in. The firſt of January was was appointed for this ſolemnity, which was performed at Scone, with the greateſt pomp and magnificence that the preſent ſtate of the nation was was capable of. His majeſty having ſubſcribed both the covenants, the marquiſs of Argyle ſet the crown upon his head; at which the people expreſſed their joy by their loud acclamations of "God ſave king Charles the ſecond." The main deſign now was to form ſuch an army as might not only ſecure what they had ſtill in their hands, but drive the Engliſh, (whom they now called the common enemy) quite out of their country. To

effect this, all perſons were now promiſcuouſly admitted into the army, commiſſions were granted for raiſing horſe and foot, and new commanders were appointed. His majeſty ſet up his royal ſtandard at Aberdeen, to which great numbers of volunteers and honorary ſoldiers flocked from all parts. From thence he marched to Sterling; where having muſtered his army, he made duke Hamilton his lieutenant-general, David Lefley major-general, Middleton major-general of the horſe, and Maſſey general of the Engliſh troops.

The lord-general Cromwell obſerving theſe proceedings, was very little concerned at them. However, to make ſure work, he endeavoured to poſſeſs himſelf of all thoſe garriſons of the Scots which were on the ſouth ſide of the Frith. To this end, he ordered colonel Fenwick with his own regiment, and colonel Syler's, to reduce Hume-caſtle under his obedience. Fenwick immediately upon his receiving theſe orders, applied himſelf accordingly to the work; and having drawn his men up before the caſtle, ſent a ſummons to the governor, as follows: "His excellency the lord-general Cromwell, hath commanded me to reduce this caſtle, you now poſſeſs, unider his obedience; which if you now deliver into my hands, for his ſervice, you ſhall have terms for yourſelf and thoſe with you: If you refuſe, I doubt not but in a ſhort time, by God's aſſiſtance, to obtain what I now demand. I expect your anſwer by ſeven of the clock to-morrow morning, and reſt your ſervant,

George Fenwick."

The governor, whoſe name was Cockburn, being, it ſeems, a man of fancy, returned him this quibbling anſwer: Right honourable, I have received a trumpeter of yours, as he tells me, without a paſs, to ſurrender Hume-caſtle to the lord-general Cromwell: Pleaſe you, I never ſaw your general. As for Hume-caſtle it ſtands upon a rock.

Given

Given at Hume caſtle this day before ſeven a-clock. So reſteth, without prejudice to my native country, your moſt humble ſervant,

Thomas Cockburn."

And ſoon after he ſent the colonel theſe lines:

" I William of the Waſtle
" Am now in my caſtle:
" And awe the dogs in the town
" Shan't gar me gang down.

But the governor did not long continue in this merry humour: For Fenwick having planted a battery againſt the caſtle and made a ſmall breach, as the Engliſh were juſt ready to enter, Cockburn beat a parley. But the colonel would now allow only quarter for life; which being accepted, the governor with his garriſon being ſeventy eight commanders and private ſoldiers, marched out of the caſtle; which captain Colliſon with his company immediately entered, to keep it for the parliament.

Colonel Monk was alſo detatched with about three regiments of horſe and foot, to reduce Tantallon-caſtle. Being come before it, he found the Scots very refractory, whereupon he cauſed the mortar-pieces to play for eight and forty hours: But theſe did little execution; till ſix battering guns being planted, were ſo well managed, that the governor and thoſe that were with him were forced to ſubmit to mercy.

Proceedings of the king and his party. 1651.

The king having now got ſome authority, viſited all the garriſons in Fife, and endeavoured to put them in ſuch a poſture as to hinder the Engliſh from landing on that ſide the Frith. To this end alſo he drew from Sterling ſuch horſe and foot as could be well ſpared, and quartered them all along the water-ſide. Then he viſited the highlanders, endeavouring to compoſe the diſſenſions that were amongſt them, and to prevail on them to riſe unanimouſly

mouſly for him. Middleton marched out of theſe parts with a conſiderable body of horſe and foot: And about the ſame time, the town of Dundee, as a teſtimony of their great reſpect to the king, and to ſhew their forwardneſs in promoting his intereſt, advanced at their own charge a compleat well armed regiment of horſe, whom they ſent with a ſtately tent, and ſix field-pieces with cariages and ammunition, as a preſent to his majeſty then at Sterling; where all being joined, made up an army of twenty thouſand men. And endeavours were ſtill uſed for augmenting this army; for which purpoſe, the earl of Eglanton, with ſome other commanders, was ſent into the Weſt, to raiſe what forces they could. Theſe coming to Dumbarton to execute their commiſſions, were ſuddenly ſuprized by a party of horſe ſent thither by colonel Lilburn, for that purpoſe; who took the earl himſelf, his ſon colonel Montgomery, lieutenant-colonel Colburn, &c. and brought them priſoners to Edinburgh.

Great care of the parliament in providing for the army.

In the mean time, the parliament of England had a ſpecial regard to their army in Scotland, providing for their welfare in all reſpects. They took care to procure ſufficient ſupplies both of men, money and proviſions, which they were continually ſending away to them; ſo that never was an army better provided for than this, as no ſoldiers ever deſerved better encouragement than theſe. Particularly admiral Dean arrived about this time at Leith with large ſupplies from London; and amongſt other conveniencies, brought along with him ſeven and twenty great flat-bottomed boats, for tranſporting the army over into Fife. And not long after, captain Butler arrived at the ſame place in the Succeſs (a ſtout ſhip formerly taken from the French) with eighty thouſand pounds for the payment of the ſoldiers.

The lord-general Cromwell had for ſome time laboured under a very great indiſpoſition, occaſioned by

by the unſuitableneſs of the climate, and the extreme rigour of the winter ſeaſon in thoſe parts. This confined him wholly to his chamber, and utterly diſabled him to act in perſon with the army, how great occaſion ſoever there might be. Now was the Engliſh army under very ſad apprehenſions; but they were not ſo much dejected and diſheartened, as the Scots were elevated and tranſported at this news; who highly pleaſed themſelves with the very fancy of his death; and thereupon readily believed the ſlighteſt report of it to be true; and when once the conceit had poſſeſſed them, could ſcarce by any means be brought to believe the contrary; ſo that a Scotch trumpeter coming out of Fife to Edinburgh, about the reſtoration of a ſhip which the Engliſh had taken, very confidently affirmed to the ſoldiers, that their general was dead; and ſaid, they did well to conceal it, but all the world ſhould not make him believe otherwiſe. This coming to the general's ear, who was now in a very fair way of recovery, to convince the man of his miſtake, he ordered him to be brought before him. And the conceit was ſo ſtrongly fixed in him, that nothing but this could have removed it. However, being now effectually convinced, he at his return aſſured thoſe who ſent him of the falſity of this report, which had paſſed ſo currently in the Scotch army. After the lord-general had been ſomewhat recovered, he fell into a very dangerous relapſe, which, if he had not been of an extraordinary ſtrong conſtitution, might have ended his days. But the rulers in England, very much fearing the loſs of their general, as knowing no man ſo fit for that high employment, firſt of all ſent him two eminent phyſicians, Dr. Wright and Dr. Bates; and preſently after diſpatched an order into Scotland, permitting him to leave the buſineſs of the army, and repair into England, for the recovery of his health and ſtrength, as thinking the air of Scotland might

The ſickneſs of the general.

might be the occaſion of his illneſs. Upon the receipt of this, he wrote a letter to the lord preſident of the council of ſtate, dated June 3d, which is as follows:

His letter to the council of ſtate.

"My lord, I have received yours of the 27th of May, with an order of parliament for my liberty to return into England for change of air, that thereby I might the better recover my health: All which came unto me, whilſt Dr. Wright and Dr. Bates, whom your lordſhip ſent down, were with me. I ſhall not need to repeat the extremity of my laſt ſickneſs: It was ſo violent, that indeed my nature was not able to bear the weight thereof; but the Lord was pleaſed to deliver me beyond expectation, and to give me cauſe to ſay once more, "He hath plucked me out of the grave." My lord, the indulgence of the parliament, expreſſed by their order, is a very high and undeſerved favour; of which although it be fit I keep a thankful remembrance; yet I judge it would be too much preſumption in me not to return a particular acknowledgment. I beſeech you, give me the boldneſs to return my humble thankfulneſs to the council, for ſending two ſuch worthy perſons ſo great a journey to viſit me; from whom I have received much encouragement and good direction for recovery of my health and ſtrength, which I find, by the goodneſs of God, growing towards ſuch a ſtate, as may yet, if it be his good will, render me uſeful according to my poor ability, in the ſtation wherein he hath ſet me. I wiſh more ſteadineſs in your affairs here, than to depend in the leaſt upon ſo frail a thing as I am; indeed they do not, nor own any inſtrument. 'This cauſe is of God, and it muſt proſper.' Oh! that all that have any hand therein, being ſo perſuaded, would gird up the loins of their minds, and endeavour in all things to walk worthy of the Lord. So prays, my lord, your moſt humble ſervant,

O. Cromwell."

About

About this time a plot was diſcovered in England, which had been carried on by the Preſbyterian party, and chiefly by the miniſters of that perſuaſion, in order to promote the deſigns of their Scottiſh brethren, and help forward his majeſty's reſtoration to the Engliſh throne, as a king under ſufficient limitations, and now in covenant with them. For this Mr. Love, Mr. Jenkins, Mr. Caſe, and Mr. Drake, very eminent Preſbyterian divines, beſides ſome others of the laity, were apprehended by order of the council of ſtate. Jenkins, Caſe and Drake confeſſed themſelves guilty, and, that the party might not be too much irritated, were upon their humble petition, pardoned. But Love, as being more guilty than any of the reſt, was, together with one Gibbons, beheaded on Tower-hill, on the 22d of Auguſt. He was condemned on July 5, and the day of execution was appointed to be on the 15th, before which time many petitions were preſented from himſelf and his friends to the parliament, for ſaving his life, but to no purpoſe; till on the very day that was appointed for his execution, ſeveral miniſters, in and about London, came to the houſe, "Praying earneſtly, and in the bowels of Jeſus Chriſt, who, when they were ſinners, died for them, if not totally to ſpare the life of their dear brother, that yet they would ſay of him as Solomon of Abiathar, 'That at this time he ſhall not be put to death.' Upon this he was reprieved for one month; during which time, all poſſible ſolicitations were uſed to thoſe in power, and particular application was made to the lord-general Cromwell in Scotland, who ſent back a letter ſignifying his free conſent to the pardon of him: But ſome cavaliers ſtopping the poſt-boy, and ſearching his packet, with great indignation tore the lord-general's letter, that concerned Mr. Love, as thinking he deſerved not to live, who, according to them, had been ſuch an incendiary in the treaty

A Preſbyterian plot.

For which Mr. Love is executed.

at Uxbridge. And ſo the parliament and council of ſtate hearing nothing from the general, they took it for granted, that his ſilence was deſigned as an abſolute denial; upon which Love was executed on the foreſaid day.

The general prepares for action.

General Cromwell was no ſooner able to ſtir abroad, but with eager deſire of action, he conſulted with his chief officers to carry on the war. For this purpoſe, it was thought proper to contract their quarters by drawing in the out-guards, or petty garriſons, which were of little uſe, and were often very much moleſted by the Scots. And now the army being thus drawn together into one body, were ſupplied with thirty-three waggons and carriages for the train from Berwick; and all things being in readineſs for the campaign, the lord-general, on June 24th, ordered the army to advance to Redhaugh, where they ſtaid not long, but marched from thence to Pencland hills, a place very well known to the Engliſh. Here they encamped in a moſt comely and regular order; and the lord-general feaſted his officers in his tent, with ſeveral of their ladies, as the lady Lambert, and major-general Dean's lady, and many other Engliſh gentlewomen, who came from Leith to ſee the ſoldiers in their tents.

The army having continued ſome ſmall time in this poſture, the lord-general, in order to carry on the preſent deſign, marched them away to Newbridge, and from thence to Lithgow; where, from the battlements of the caſtle, they could diſcern the tents of the Scotch army, which lay encamped at Torwood near Sterling; where they were guarded with regular fortifications, the horſe in great bodies lying about them for ſecurity, who were alſo fenced with a river and with bogs; ſo that the Engliſh could not poſſibly drive them out of this faſtneſs. However, the lord-general, to try whether he could provoke them to come and fight, marched his army

in

in battalia ſo near their main body, that their tents might be perfectly ſeen; and ſo ſtood for the ſpace of eight hours, waiting for the coming of the Scots; who thinking it better to ſpin out time, than to put all to the hazard of a battle, would not come out to engage. Hereupon, the lord-general drew off his army to Glaſgow, where having ſomewhat refreſhed his wearied men, he marched them back again; and underſtanding that the Scots had removed their camp to Kelſith, he wheeled about, and ſhortly after quartered his army at Monks-land, within four miles of the enemy. But they ſtill refuſed to engage, and the general could not attack them without the greateſt hazard.

He takes Calendar-houſe

This ſo provoked him, that he reſolved to fall upon part of their forces, that defended Calendar-houſe. And ſo on the 15th of July, he ordered two battering guns to be planted, which having played with great violence for about eight hours, at laſt beat down the walls in ſeveral places. Notwithſtanding which, the governor expecting relief from the Scotch army, which lay in ſight of him, reſolved to hold out to the utmoſt. Upon which, the lord-general ſent ten files out of every regiment, to force them out, ſince they could not be prevailed on to ſubmit. Theſe brave fellows having provided themſelves with faggots, preſently unloaded themſelves into the enemy's moat, and ſo ſpringing over into the breach, in half an hour's time wholly poſſeſſed themſelves of the houſe, having ſlain the governor, with ſixty-two of his men. The Scotch army all this while looked on, and, as if they were not at all concerned in the matter, did not ſend one hand to the relief of their friends.

The lord-general finding that he could by no means provoke the Scots to a battle, reſolved now to bid fair for Fife, that thereby he might cut off thoſe ſupplies from them, that enabled them to protract time and prolong the war. Accordingly,

immediately after the taking of Calendar-houſe, the valiant colonel Overton, with ſixteen hundred foot and four troops of horſe, put out into the Forth, being ordered to land at the North-ferry in Fiſe; which he did in ſpight of thoſe ſhowers of great and ſmall ſhot, that were poured upon him as he approached the ſhore; in return to which he cauſed his men to fire upon them out of the boats; which they did with ſo much courage and bravery, that the Scots were forced to break off the diſpute, and betake themſelves to flight, leaving behind them part of their arms and artillery. In the mean time general Cromwell kept cloſe up to the Scots with the main body of his army, intending to fall upon their rear, in caſe they moved to diſturb this enterprize. However, the king ſent major-general Brown and colonel Holborn with four thouſand men to force the enemy out of Fiſe again; but before they came up to them, Lambert and Okey paſſed over the Forth with two regiments of horſe and two of foot, and joined with Overton. And ſo the Engliſh, with this unexpected reinforcement, falling upon Brown and Holborn, entirely defeated them, killing two thouſand upon the ſpot, and taking priſoners major-general Brown himſelf, one colonel, one lieutenant-colonel, one major, thirteen captains, ſeventeen lieutenants, twenty-nine enſigns, five quarter-maſters, ſix-and-twenty ſerjeants, five-and-twenty corporals, and above twelve hundred common ſoldiers, with two-and-forty colours of horſe and foot. Brown being thus defeated and reduced to the condition of a priſoner, lived not long after; dying, as was thought, of very grief for this ſad diſaſter. Thus the Engliſh got ſure footing on the other ſide of the Frith; and this overthrow proved the bane of the Scotch affairs.

The battle of Fiſe.

Soon after this blow, the Engliſh took in garriſons almoſt as faſt as they approached them. Lambert, in the firſt place, came before a ſtrong fort called

called Inneſgary, ſituated in an Iſle lying in the Frith, betwixt Queen's-ferry and the paſs into Fife. The garriſon here was ſo terrified at the news of the late overthrow, that being ſummoned by Lambert, they were content to march away with only their ſwords by their ſides, and deliver up the fort, with all the arms, ammunition and proviſions, and ſixteen pieces of ordnance, to the Engliſh. About this time, a miniſter and two ſtudents came from Angus to the lord-general Cromwell for protection: One of them was excommunicated for not anſwering the two following queſtions: "1. Whether Preſbyterian government in Scotland be not in all things conform to the word of God? 2. Whether Cromwell be not antichriſtian?

The news of the defeat in Fife being brought to the king, who ſtill lay ſtrongly encamped in Torwood, occaſioned ſo great a conſternation in his army, that with great precipitation he decamped, and marched into Sterling park. General Cromwell followed ſpeedily after them in the rear, and marching over the ground where they ſo lately lay, he perceived with what a pannic fear they had been ſeized: For they had left behind them all their ſick men, one barrel of powder, three of ball, a great deal of match, many muſkets, and three barrels of hand-grenadoes. The lord-general followed them within two miles of Sterling, endeavouring to provoke them to an engagement, but all in vain, they making all the haſte they could to ſecure themſelves. Hereupon the general, perceiving it was to no purpoſe to continue here, on the 22d of July marched away his army to Lithgow; from whence he cauſed the greateſt part of them to be tranſported over into Fife, with the train of artillery, in order to carry on the war on the other ſide of the water. The general himſelf retired to Leith, to provide for the ſupply of his ſoldiers; and here he received the welcome news of the ſurrender of Bruntiſland to Lambert;

Gen. Cromwell follows the Scotch army.

Lambert; who having brought the army before it, the governor of the place was ſo diſmayed, that after a ſhort parley he delivered it up on theſe conditions: "First, That the ſoldiers in garriſon (being about five hundred) ſhould march away with colours flying. Secondly, That the inhabitants of the town ſhould have what belonged to them. Thirdly, That all proviſions of war, together with all guns and ſtripping of war, ſhould be delivered up for the uſe of the commonwealth of England." This place was of great advantage to the Engliſh; for it being a very commodious harbour, the army might from thence, in the courſe of their conqueſts, have continued ſupplies of all that was neceſſary and convenient for them.

The general paſſes over into Fife.

General Cromwell having ſettled matters at Leith, immediately croſſed the Frith to his army, which was then at Bruntiſland; and ſo diſpatching Whalley to reduce the ſmaller garriſons upon the coaſt of Fife, and leaving colonel Weſt's regiment in Bruntiſland, he with the reſt of the army and train of artillery, on the 30th of July, marched away towards St. John's-town; that by reducing that important place under his power, he might prevent the Highlanders from ſending any ſupplies, either of men or proviſions, to Sterling. Being come before it, he ſent this ſummons to the town. "That being informed the town was void of a garriſon, ſave the inhabitants and ſome few countrymen, he required them to deliver the ſame to him immediately; promiſing to ſecure their perſons from violence, and their goods from plunder." The meſſenger, who carried this ſummons was, contrary to the expectation of the Engliſh, denied admittance, and came back with this ſhort reply from the townſmen, "That they were not in a capacity to receive any letters." But to excuſe the matter, the magiſtrates ſoon ſent after him a meſſage, declaring, "That the king's majeſty had ſent a very

He takes St. John's-town

ſtrong

ſtrong party, able to maintain the town, and overpower them with a governor: But always to obſerve civility with his lordſhip, they had obtained leave from the governor to excuſe themſelves, by ſhewing how unable they were to treat." It ſeems, the Lord Duffus had the day before entered the town with thirteen hundred men; but the lord-general, upon his refuſal of the new ſummons which he ſent him, having drained the water out of the moats round about the town, and battered the walls with his cannon, obliged him to ſurrender in a day's time.

The king in great perplexity.

Theſe wonderful ſucceſſes, which attended the Engliſh arms, threw the king's affairs in Scotland into great perplexity and diſtreſs; whereupon he began to think of making an irruption into England. He was now much nearer England than general Cromwell, who could not poſſibly overtake him, till after his majeſty had been ſome days march before him. His fate depended upon the ſucceſs of one battle; and he had reaſon to believe, that all the northern parts of England were well-affected to him; whither if he could once reach, he might hope to encreaſe his army by the acceſſion of ſuch men as would render it much more conſiderable. Upon this, it was reſolved, that the army ſhould with all poſſible expedition advance into England, by the neareſt ways that led into Lancaſhire; whither his majeſty ſent expreſſes to his friends in thoſe parts, that they might have their ſoldiers in a readineſs to receive him. He alſo ſent an expreſs to the earl of Derby, who was then in the Iſle of Man, requiring him to meet him in Lancaſhire. The marquis of Argyle was the only perſon who diſſuaded the king from marching into England, and that with no inconſiderable arguments; but the contrary opinion prevailing, Argyle retired to his houſe in the Highlands: And ſo, on the laſt day of July, the king began his march

His army enters England.

march from Sterling, and on the 6th of Auguſt entered England by the way of Carliſle, with an army of about ſixteen thouſand men.

The noiſe of this ſudden invaſion gave a moſt terrible alarm to the whole nation, eſpecially to the parliament at Weſtminſter, who were ſtill more diſmayed at the reports of the greatneſs of the king's army, and his deſign of mounting his foot-ſoldiers, and advancing directly to London. They were now ready to paſs ſevere cenſures on the lord-general Cromwell, and condemned him of raſhneſs and precipitation; whilſt he in the mean time took care to ſatisfy them as well as he could, and aſſured them, "That he would overtake the enemy, and give a good account of them, before they ſhould give them any trouble." Accordingly, that he might loſe no time, he ordered major-general Lambert "To follow the king immediately with ſeven or eight hundred horſe, and to draw as many others as he could from the country militia; and to moleſt the king's march as much as poſſible, by being near, and obliging him to march cloſe; not engaging his own party in any ſharp actions, without a very manifeſt advantage, but keeping himſelf entire till he ſhould come up to him."

Gen. Cromwell ſends Lambert after him.

The parliament alſo exerted themſelves to the utmoſt on this occaſion. The militia of moſt counties was ordered to be drawn into the field, to obſtruct the king's march. Two thouſand out of Staffordſhire, and four thouſand out of Lancaſhire and Cheſhire, under the command of col. Birch, joined with Lambert and Harriſon. The lord Fairfax drew out into the field with a formidable body, to flank the king's army; the militia of the city of London was commanded out, and all the adjacent counties were ſtrictly enjoined by the parliament to ſet out horſe and men at their own charges. An act was alſo publiſhed, wherein it was declared, "That no perſon whatſoever ſhould preſume to hold

The parliament's proceedings againſt him.

hold any correſpondence with Charles Stuart, or with his party, or with any of them, nor give any intelligence to them, nor countenance, encourage, abet, adhere to, or aſſiſt any of them; nor voluntarily afford, or cauſe to be afforded or delivered unto any of them, any victuals, proviſions, ammunition, arms, horſes, plate, money, men, or any other relief whatſoever, under pain of high-treaſon: And that all perſons ſhould uſe their utmoſt endeavours to hinder and ſtop their march."

Cromwell marches into England.

The lord general Cromwell being now ready to march into England in purſuit of the Scotch army, endeavoured to ſettle the affairs of Scotland in ſuch a poſture, as effectually to ſecure what was already obtained; and gave all the neceſſary orders to lieutenant-general Monk, whom he reſolved to leave behind him with a ſtrong party of foot, and ſuch troops of horſe, as might be able to quell any forces which ſhould riſe after his departure. This done the victorious Cromwell, with the remainder of the army, marched out of Scotland, and on the 18th of Auguſt croſſed the Tine: With which ſwift march being quite wearied, he cauſed the army to pitch their tents on Ryſon-Haugh, upon the brink of the Tine, whilſt himſelf took up his quarters at Stelly-houſe, not far from his ſoldiers. The mayor of Newcaſtle underſtanding that the army was near the town, immediately went out, accompanied with the reſt of the magiſtrates, to congratulate the lord-general's arrival in England; and that they might be the more welcome to the ſoldiers, carried along with them, bread, cheeſe, biſket, and beer, for the refreſhment of the army. Theſe ſupplies were very ſeaſonable, and enabled the ſoldiers chearfully to continue their march.

March of the Scots.

The Scots in the mean time by a ſwift march went on in proſecution of their preſent deſign. The king led them through Lancaſhire, where at the head of his army he was in all the market-towns

he paſſed through proclaimed king of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland. But he met not with that encouragement which he expected; for beſides that the Scots daily deſerted him, the country did not come in to him as he believed they would, being continually obſtructed by the forces of the commonwealth, which ſpread themſelves over all places. The king with his army marched on towards Warrington on the borders of Cheſhire, the paſſage of which bridge was ſharply conteſted by Lambert and his party, but was at laſt obtained by the king, the Scots, as they fell on, crying out, Oh you Rogues! We will be with you before your Cromwell comes. The king reſolved to continue his march with the ſame expedition as he had uſed hitherto, till they ſhould come to ſuch a poſt where they might ſecurely reſt themſelves; which the poor ſoldiers very much deſired, being extreamly fatigued with the length of their march, and the heat of the ſeaſon. His majeſty hoping the intereſt that major-general Maſſey had in Gloſterſhire, would draw a great many in to him from thoſe parts, reſolved to direct his march that way. At laſt looking upon Worceſter as a proper place, he determined to ſettle there with his army; and accordingly, on the 23d day of Auguſt, he entered that city with very little oppoſition; where he reſolved to abide, and expect the coming of his enemy; and that he might not be wanting in any thing, that might tend to the preſervation of himſelf and forces, he ordered works to be raiſed for better ſecurity. Then he ſent a ſummons to colonel Mackworthy governor of Shrewſbury, inviting him to yield up that garriſon to him; to which the governor returned a peremptory denial. He alſo ſent letters to Sir Thomas Middleton, to raiſe forces for him in Montgomeryſhire; but Sir Thomas detained the meſſenger priſoner, and ſent up the letter to the parliament. A day or two

after

after the king had taken up his quarters at Worceſter, he received the melancholy news of the defeat of the earl of Derby. This brave man was the only perſon, who made any conſiderable attempt to ſupport the king. He got together a body of fifteen hundred horſe; but before he could join the king's army, colonel Lilburne ſet upon him near Wiggan, and entirely routed him. The earl himſelf being wounded, retreated into Cheſhire, with about eighty horſe, and from thence to the king at Worceſter.

Cromwell marches after them.

In the mean time, general Cromwell having refreſhed his ſoldiers near Newcaſtle, immediately marched away by Rippon, Ferry-briggs, Doncaſter, Mansfield and Coventry; and at Keinton joined with the reſt of the parliament's forces, under lieutenant-general Fleetwood, major-general Deſborough, the lord Grey of Groby, major-general Lambert, and major-general Harriſon; making in all about thirty thouſand men. The commonwealth had, indeed by their new levies encreaſed their forces to a prodigious number; and England never before produced ſo many ſoldiers in ſo ſhort a time: For the ſtanding army, with thoſe other forces newly raiſed by act of parliament, upon this occaſion, are ſaid to have amounted to above ſixty thouſand men.

The lord-general being come up, and having obſerved the poſture of the enemy's army, began with an attempt upon Upton-bridge, ſeven miles from Worecſter, deſigning there, if poſſible, to paſs over his army. Lambert was appointed to manage this affair, who immediately detached a ſmall party of horſe and dragoons, to ſee how feaſible the enterprize might be. This party coming to the bridge, found it broken down, all but one plank. Over this theſe daring fellows paſſed, who finding the Scots took the alarm, preſently betook themſelves to a church for ſecurity. Hereupon Maſſey, who

lay at Upton with about ſixty dragoons, and two hundred horſe, gave a camiſado on the church; but major-general Lambert, having in the mean time paſſed over a new ſupply of horſe, fell furiouſly upon the enemy's party, and over-powering them, forced them to a retreat; which Maſſey ſupported with ſo much bravery, that ſometimes facing, then fighting, and ſo falling off, himſelf brought up the rear, and never quitted his ſtation, till he arrived with his men at Worceſter. In this encounter his horſe was killed under him, and he received a ſhot in his arm. The bridge being thus gained, all poſſible induſtry was uſed to make it up; ſo that lieutenant-general Fleetwood's army quickly paſſed over; which marching forward, they laid a bridge over the Teame, which falls into the Severn, about a mile beneath Worceſter: And the general, in the mean time, cauſed a bridge of boats to be laid over the Severn on his ſide; and this for the better conjunction of the army, and that the enemy might be the more ſtraitened.

The Scots drawing out to oppoſe the lieutenant-general's paſſage, the lord-general reſolved to divert their deſign, or to oblige them to fight on great diſadvantage: To which end, himſelf in perſon led over the river two regiments of foot, colonel Hacker's horſe, and his own life-guard, on that ſide of Worceſter, which he deſigned to attack. Whilſt this was doing, lieutenant-general Fleetwood, aſſiſted by colonel Goff's and major-general Dean's regiments of foot, maintained a brave fight from hedge to hedge, which the Scots had lined thick with muſqueteers, judging that to be the ſafeſt way. And indeed they ſtoutly maintained their ground, till colonel Blake's, Gibbon's and Marſh's regiments came in and joined with the others againſt them; upon which they retreated to Powick-bridge, where they were again engaged by colonel Hains, Cobbet and Matthews; and perceiving

ceiving they were not able to prevail, they thought fit at laſt to ſecure themſelves by flying into Worceſter.

Preſently after, the king calling a council of war, it was reſolved to engage Cromwell himſelf. Accordingly, they on a ſudden ſallied out againſt him with ſo much fury, that his invincible life-guard could not ſuſtain the ſhock, but was forced to retire in ſome diſorder; and his cannon likewiſe were for ſome time in the power of the king's party: But multitudes of freſh forces coming in, at laſt turned the ſcale on Cromwell's ſide. The battle continued for three or four hours with great fierceneſs and various ſucceſs, till the Scots being over-powered by Cromwell's ſuperior force, were totally routed, flying away in great confuſion to ſecure themſelves. The horſe made as faſt as they could back again towards the north; but the foot ran into the city, being cloſely purſued by ſome of the conquerors, who furiouſly flew thro' all the ſtreets, doing ſuch terrible execution, that there was nothing to be ſeen for ſome time but blood and ſlaughter. As ſoon as the lord-general had forced his way through Sudbury-gate, whilſt this party were killing and ſlaying all they met with, he with ſome regiments ran up to the Fort-royal, commanded by colonel Drummond; and being juſt about to ſtorm, he firſt ventured his perſon thro' whole ſhowers of ſhot, to offer the Scots quarter, if they would preſently ſubmit, and deliver up the fort; which they refuſing, he ſoon reduced it by force, and without mercy put them all to the ſword, to the number of fifteen hundred men. In the mean time very conſiderable parties were ſent after the flying enemy, and the country every where roſe upon them. The ſlain in this battle were reckoned about four thouſand, and the priſoners taken in the fight and in the purſuit amounted to about ten thouſand; ſo that near all were loſt. The chief

He totally defeats them in the battle of Worceſter.

chief of the priſoners were duke Hamilton (brother of the late duke) who died ſoon after of his wounds; the earl of Derby, who not long after was ſentenced to death, and loſt his head at Bolton; the earls of Lauderdale, Carnwarth, Rothes, and Kelley; the lord Sinclare, Sir John Packington, Sir Charles Cunnigham, Sir Ralph Clare, major-general Montgomery, major-general Piſcoty, Mr. Richard Fanſhaw ſecretary to the king, the general of the ordnance, the adjutant-general of the foot; beſides ſeveral colonels, and other inferior officers. There were alſo taken all their artillery and baggage, a hundred and fifty-eight colours, the king's ſtandard, his coach and horſes, and ſeveral other things of great value. The king eſcaped, and having wandered for ſome time in diſguiſe about England, he at laſt found means to embark, and landed ſafely at Diepe in France. This great victory, which was juſtly looked upon as the deciſion of the grand cauſe between the king and the commonwealth, was obtained by general Cromwell on the the third of September, the ſame day twelvemonth, that the Scots had ſuch a defeat given them by his forces at Dunbar, as loſt them their kingdom. Cromwell's word was the ſame as at Dunbar, "The Lord of hoſts." The next day the lord-general ſent a letter to the parliament, which was as follows:

"I am not able yet to give you an exact account of the great things the Lord hath done for this common-wealth, and for his people; and yet I am unwilling to be ſilent, but according to my duty I ſhall repreſent it to you as it comes to hand. This battle was fought with various ſucceſs for ſome hours, but ſtill hopeful on your part, and in the end became an abſolute victory, and ſo full a one, as proved a total defeat and ruin of the enemy's army, and poſſeſſion of the town; our men entering

entering at the enemy's heels, and fighting with them in the ſtreets with very great courage, took all the baggage and artillery. What the ſlain are I can give you no account, becauſe we have not taken an exact view; but they are very many, and muſt needs be ſo, becauſe the diſpute was long, and very near at hand, and often at puſh of pike, and from one defence to another. There are about ſix or ſeven thouſand priſoners taken here, and many officers and noblemen of quality; duke Hamilton, the earl of Rothes, and divers other noblemen; I hear, the earl of Lauderdale, many officers of great quality, and ſome that will be fit objects of your juſtice. We have ſent very conſiderable parties after the flying enemy; I hear they have taken conſiderable numbers of priſoners, and are very cloſe in the purſuit. Indeed, I hear the country riſeth upon them every where; and I believe, the forces that lay thro' providence at Bewdley, and in Shropſhire and Staffordſhire, and thoſe with colonel Lilburne, were in a condition, as if this had been foreſeen, to intercept what ſhould return. A more particular account than this will be prepared for you, as we are able. I heard they had not many more than a thouſand horſe in their body that fled, and I believe we have near four thouſand forces following and interpoſing between them and home. Their army was about ſixteen thouſand ſtrong, and fought ours on Worceſter-ſide Severn almoſt with their whole, whilſt we had engaged half our army on the other ſide, but with parties of theirs. Indeed it was a ſtiff buſineſs; yet I do not think we have loſt two hundred men. Your new-raiſed forces did perform ſingular good ſervice, for which they deſerve a very high eſtimation and acknowledgment, as alſo for their willingneſs thereunto, foraſmuch as the ſame hath added ſo much to the reputation of your affairs.

They

They are all diſpatched home again; which, I hope, will be much for the eaſe and ſatisfaction of the country, which is a great fruit of the ſucceſſes.

"The dimenſions of this mercy are above my thoughts; it is for ought I know, a *crowning* mercy; ſurely, if it be not, ſuch a one we ſhall have, if this provoke thoſe that are concerned in it to thankfulneſs, and the parliament to do the will of him, who hath done his will for it, and for the nation; whoſe good pleaſure is, to eſtabliſh the nation, and the change of the government, by making the people ſo willing to the defence thereof, and ſo ſignally to bleſs the endeavours of your ſervants in this late great work. I am bold, humbly to beg, that all thoughts may tend to the promoting of his honour, who hath wrought ſo great ſalvation, and that the fatneſs of theſe continued mercies may not occaſion pride and wantonneſs, as formerly the like hath done to a choſen people. But that the fear of the Lord, even for his mercies, may keep an authority, and a people ſo proſpered, and bleſſed, and witneſſed to, humble and faithful; that juſtice and righteouſneſs, mercy and truth may flow from you, as a thankful return to our glorious God: This ſhall be the prayer of, Sir, your moſt humble and obedient ſervant,

O. Cromwell."

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

From the battle of Worceſter, to the forcible diſſolution of of the Long Parliament.

GENERAL Cromwell having given this deadly blow to the Scots, and to all the king's party, ſtaid no longer at Worceſter, than to ſee the walls of it levelled with the ground, and the dikes filled with earth, thereby to curb the diſaffection of the inhabitants, and to prevent their attempting to ſecure any enemy for the future. This done, he marched up in a triumphant manner to London, driving four or five thouſand priſoners like ſheep before him. Beyond Aleſbury, he was met by four commiſſioners from the parliament, whom they ſent to pay him all the marks of honour and eſteem. When he came to Acton, he was ſolemnly met by the ſpeaker, and the reſt of the members and council of ſtate; and ſoon after by the lord mayor, aldermen and ſheriffs, and many perſons of quality, with the militia and multitudes of people; who welcomed him with loud ſhouts and acclamations, and ſeveral vollies of great and ſmall ſhot. Whitelock ſays, he carried himſelf with great affability, and ſeeming humility; and in all his diſcourſes about the buſineſs of Worceſter, would ſeldom mention any thing of himſelf, but of the gallantry of the officers and ſoldiers, and gave all the glory of the action unto God. After ſome ſmall repoſe, on the 16th of September, he took his place in parliament, where the ſpeaker made a ſpeech to him, congratulating his return after ſo many worthy atchievements, and giving him the thanks of the houſe for his great and faithful ſervices to the common-wealth. On the ſame day, he with his chief officers, was feaſted in the city, with all poſſible ſtate and pomp: And ſoon after two acts were

Cromwell returns in triumph to London.

drawn up, that were much to his honour; one for a ſolemn thankſgiving-day, and the other for a yearly obſervation of the third day of September, in all the three kingdoms, with a narrative of the grounds thereof. The parliament likewiſe ſettled four thouſand pounds a year upon him, out of the eſtates of the duke of Buckingham, and the marquis of Worceſter, beſides two thouſand five hundred pounds *per Annum*, formerly granted.

The Iſles of Man, Jerſey, Guernſey, & Scilly reduced.

Soon after the battle of Worceſter, the Iſle of Man, bravely defended by the heroic counteſs of Derby, and the Iſle of Jerſey, that had been long maintained by Sir George Carteret, were both reduced to the parliament's obedience. They had long ſince been maſters of Guernſey, except the chief fort, called Cornet-caſtle, which had been a great while defended by Roger Burges the governor, but was about the latter end of October ſurrendered by him upon very good articles. And the Scilly iſles, which had been the chief harbour for the king's men of war, were ſome time before reduced by a part of the parliament's fleet.

Monk finiſhes the reduction of Scotland.

Major-general Monk, whom the lord-general had left in Scotland, to perfect the reduction of that kingdom, proceeded in his work with very good ſucceſs. Before the fight at Worceſter, he took Sterling, the chief ſtrength of the Scots; as alſo Dundee, with as terrible an execution as Cromwell had before uſed at Tredagh; and ſurprized a convention of the Scotch nobility, among whom was old general Leſley, and ſent them priſoners to London. The example that was made at Dundee, occaſioned ſuch a terror, that St. Andrew's, Aberdeen, Dunbarton, and Dunnoter caſtles, with other towns, caſtles, and ſtrong-holds, either voluntarily declared for the conquerors, or ſurrendered upon ſummons. Notwithſtanding this, the Scots made one attempt more under Middleton, Huntley, Glencarne, and others in the Highlands: But they were

ſoon

ſoon ſuppreſſed and diſperſed by colonel Morgan: So that the Engliſh extended their conqueſts thro' all parts of the kingdom, even as far as the iſles of Orkney and Shetland, which now ſubmitted to them.

The ſtate of that kingdom afterwards.

And here I ſhall diſmiſs the affairs of Scotland for the preſent, with the remarks that biſhop Burnet makes on the ſtate of that kingdom, after this abſolute reduction of it under the power of the Engliſh. "After this, ſays he, the country was kept in good order: Some caſtles in the highlands had garriſons put into them, that were ſo careful in their diſcipline, and ſo exact to their rules, that in no time the highlands were kept in better order, than during the uſurpation. There was a conſiderable force of about ſeven or eight thouſand men kept in Scotland: Theſe were paid exactly, and ſtrictly diſciplined. The pay of the army brought ſo much money into the kingdom, that it continued all that while in a very flouriſhing ſtate. Cromwell built three citadels, at Leith, Air, and Inverneſs, beſides many little forts. There was good juſtice done, and vice was ſuppreſſed and puniſhed; ſo that we always reckon thoſe eight years of uſurpation, a time of great peace and proſperity. There was alſo a ſort of union of the three kingdoms in one parliament, where Scotland had its repreſentatives. The marquis of Argyle went up one of our commiſſioners."

Cromwell holds a conference to conſider of a ſettlement.

Soon after the victory at Worceſter, general Cromwell deſired a meeting with ſeveral members of parliament, and ſome of the principal officers of the army, at the ſpeaker's houſe; where, as Whitelock, who was one of the number, acquaints us, he propoſed to them, "That now the old king being dead, and his ſon defeated, he held it neceſſary to come to a ſettlement of the nation; in order to which he had requeſted this meeting, that they together might conſider and adviſe, what was

fit to be done, and to be preſented to the parliament."

What paſſed hereupon in this conference, I ſhall ſet down as I find it in Whitelock. Lenthall the ſpeaker began thus: "My lord, this company were very ready to attend your excellency; and the buſineſs you are pleaſed to propound to us, is very neceſſary to be conſidered. God hath given marvellous ſucceſs to our forces under your command, and if we do not improve theſe mercies to ſome ſettlement, ſuch as may be to God's honour, and the good of this common-wealth, we ſhall be very much blame-worthy."

Harriſon. "I think that which my lord-general hath propounded, is to adviſe as to a ſettlement both of our civil and ſpiritual liberties, and ſo that the mercies which the Lord hath given in to us, may not be caſt away; how this may be done is the great queſtion."

Whitelock. "It is a great queſtion indeed, and not ſuddenly to be reſolved; yet it were a pity that a meeting of ſo many able, worthy perſons as I ſee here, ſhould be fruitleſs. I ſhould humbly offer in the firſt place, whether it be not requiſite to be underſtood, in what way this ſettlement is deſired, whether of an abſolute republick, or with any mixture of monarchy."

General Cromwell. "My lord commiſſioner Whitelock hath put us upon the right point; and indeed it is my meaning, that we ſhould conſider, whether a republick, or a mixed monarchical government will be beſt to be ſettled; and if any thing monarchical, then in whom that power ſhall be placed."

Sir Thomas Widdrington. "I think a mixed monarchical government will be moſt ſuitable to the laws and people of this nation; and if any thing monarchical, I ſuppoſe we ſhall hold it moſt juſt to place that power in one of the ſons of the late king."

Fleetwood.

Fleetwood. "I think that the queſtion, Whether an abſolute republick, or a mixed monarchy, be beſt to be ſettled in this nation, will not be very eaſy to be determined."

Lord-Chief-Juſtice St. John. "It will be found that the government of this nation, without ſomething of monarchical power, will be very difficult to be ſo ſettled, as not to ſhake the foundation of of our laws, and the liberties of the people."

Lenthall. "It will breed a ſtrange confuſion to ſettle a government of this nation, without ſomething of monarchy."

Deſborough. "I beſeech you, my lord, why may not this, as well as other nations, be governed in the way of a republick?"

Whitelock. "The laws of England are ſo interwoven with the power and practice of monarchy, that to ſettle a government without ſomething of monarchy in it, would make ſo great an alteration in the proceedings of our law, that you have ſcarce time to rectify, nor can we well foreſee the inconveniences which will ariſe thereby."

Whalley. "I do not well underſtand matters of law; but it ſeems to me the beſt way, not to have any thing of monarchical power in the ſettlement of our government: And if we ſhould reſolve upon any, whom have we to pitch upon? The king's eldeſt ſon hath been in arms againſt us, and his ſecond ſon likewiſe is our enemy."

Sir Thomas Widdrington. "But the late king's third ſon, the duke of Glouceſter, is ſtill among us, and too young to have been in arms againſt us, or infected with the principles of our enemies."

Whitelock. "There may be a day given for the king's eldeſt ſon, or for the duke of York his brother, to come in to the parliament; and upon ſuch terms as ſhall be thought fit, and agreeable both to our civil and ſpiritual liberties, a ſettlement may be made with them."

General

General Cromwell. "That will be a buſineſs of more than ordinary difficulty; but really, I think, if it may be done with ſafety, and preſervation of our rights, both as Engliſhmen, and as chriſtians, that a ſettlement with ſomething of monarchical power in it would be very effectual."

Much more diſcourſe there was by ſeveral gentlemen then preſent. The ſoldiers were generally for a pure republick, the lawyers for a mixed monarchy, and many for the duke of Glouceſter to be made king; but general Cromwell ſtill put off that debate to ſome other point; and many think, that having now begun to entertain thoughts of ſetting up himſelf, his deſign in this conference, was only to diſcover the inclinations of theſe perſons, that he might make a proper uſe thereof in proſecuting the ends of his own ambition, which was given to his ſucceſſes, in the late glorious victory at Worceſter.

The commiſſion of general Cromwell to be lord lieutenant of Ireland being expired, the parliament did not think fit to renew that title and office, looking upon them to be more ſuitable to monarchy, than a free commonwealth; but they paſſed a vote, "That the act of parliament conſtituting Oliver Cromwell, Eſq; captain-general and commander in chief of the armies and forces raiſed by their authority within England, ſhould extend to the forces in Ireland, as if Ireland had been particularly named: And that the lord-general be required to appoint ſuch a perſon as he ſhall think fit, to command the forces in Ireland, and to commiſſion him accordingly." And ſo lieutenant-general Fleetwood had the command in chief of the forces in Ireland given him, to hold under the lord-general Cromwell; and under his conduct, that kingdom was in a little time brought into perfect ſubjection.

Whilſt

Whilſt the commonwealth of England was thus every where victorious at home, a rupture happened between them and the elder republic the ſtates of Holland; which occaſioned ſuch terrible ſea-fights, that no preceding age ſince the creation had ever produced the like. Some time in the laſt year, the parliament ſent over the chief juſtice St. John and Mr. Strickland, to treat of a coalition with the Dutch; but they apprehending that this conjunction might rob them of their trade, and be little leſs than making them a province to England, not only refuſed to conſent to it, but rudely treated St. John; which was ſo much reſented by his haughty ſpirit, that he made the report of his embaſſy little to the advantage of the Dutch. Upon this the parliament paſſed the *act of navigation*, which "prohibited foreign ſhips from bringing any merchandizes into England, except ſuch as ſhould be of the growth and manufacture of that country, to which the ſaid ſhips belonged." By virtue of which law the Engliſh took occaſion to ſearch the Dutch veſſels, and often to make prize of them. The ſtates hereupon ſent over four ambaſſadors for the reſtoring and preſerving a good underſtanding between the two republicks; but the parliament demanded the arrears for the Dutch fiſhing upon the coaſts of England and Scotland, the giving up to juſtice thoſe of the Dutch who ſurvived, that were aſſiſting in the maſſacre of the Engliſh at Amboyna; and a free trade up the Scheld. The Dutch ſeeing how little they were to expect from the Engliſh by a treaty, began to prepare for a war; nor were the others behind-hand with them.

A rupture between England & Holland.

The firſt act of hoſtility was in December laſt year, when an Engliſh man of war meeting with ſome Dutch fiſhermen on the Britiſh coaſt, demanded the tenth herring, in acknowledgement of the ſoverignty of the ſeas, which the parliament was determined to maintain in another manner than had

had hitherto been done. The Dutch not complying, they fell from words to blows; and the Dutchman ſhooting firſt at the Engliſh, the Engliſh man of war ſunk one of the Dutch ſhips, which periſhed with all her crew.

Several ſea-fights between them.

This was but a ſkirmiſh; but the firſt great ſea-fight between theſe potent republicks, was in May this year; when admiral Van Trump, according to the inſtructions he had received, refuſing to ſtrike ſail to the Engliſh, Blake the Engliſh admiral gave orders to fire at Trump's flag; which being done thrice, Trump, inſtead of ſtriking it, poured a broad-ſide upon Blake. Hereupon both fleets engaged from four in the afternoon till night; in which fight, the Dutch had one man of war taken, and another ſunk, one hundred and fifty men killed, and their whole fleet much damaged; whereas the Engliſh had not one ſhip loſt or diſabled, and but few of their men ſlain. The ſecond ſea-fight was on the 20th of Auguſt; when Sir George Ayſcough, who was left by Blake to command in the Downs, with thirty-eight men of war, ſet upon the Dutch fleet of fifty, and fifteen merchant men. This fight having continued three days, the Dutch loſt two ſhips, one ſunk, and the other burnt, but the Engliſh none. On the 28th of October, admiral Blake, with vice-admiral Penn, and rear-admiral Bourn, again engaged the Dutch fleet near the North-Foreland, boarded and took their rear-admiral, ſunk two more of them, and one was blown up. The reſt of the Dutch fleet being very much ſhattered and forced to fly, was purſued twelve leagues by the Engliſh, who loſt not one ſhip in this fight, tho' many of them were damaged in their rigging. Another furious fight happened on the 29th of November, which continued from ten in the morning till ſix at night; when the Dutch fleet, double in number to the Engliſh, got the better of them, taking the Garland frigate, burning the Bonadventure, and

and ſinking three more. One of the Dutch flag-ſhips was blown up, and all the men loſt but two; and Van Trump's and De Ruyter's ſhips were much damaged.

But to return home: About this time, the lord-general Cromwell meeting with commiſſioner Whitelock, ſaluted him with more than ordinary courteſy, and deſired to have ſome private diſcourſe with him. Whitelock waited on him accordingly, and after ſome previous diſcourſe, the lord-general proceeded thus: "Your lordſhip hath obſerved moſt truly the inclinations of the officers of the army to particular factions, and to murmurings, that they are not rewarded according to their deſerts, that others who have ventured leaſt, have gained moſt, and they have neither profit nor preferment, nor place in government, which others hold, who have undergone no hardſhips nor hazards for the common-wealth; and herein they have too much of truth; yet their inſolence is very great, and their influence upon the private ſoldiers works them to the like diſcontents and murmurings. Then as for the members of parliament, the army begins to have a ſtrange diſtaſte againſt them, and I wiſh there were not too much cauſe of it; and really their pride, and ambition, and ſelf-ſeeking, ingroſſing all places of honour and profit to themſelves and their friends, and their daily breaking forth into new and violent parties and factions; their delays of buſineſs, and deſign to perpetuate themſelves, and to continue their power in their own hands; their meddling in private matters between party and party, contrary to the inſtitution of parliaments, and their injuſtice and partiality in thoſe matters, and the ſcandalous lives of ſome of the chief of them; theſe things, my lord, do give too much ground for people to open their mouths againſt them, and to diſlike them. Nor can they be kept within the

Remarkable conference between Cromwell and Whitelock.

bounds of juſtice, and law or reaſon, they themſelves being the ſupreme power of the nation, liable to no account to any, nor to be controuled or regulated by any other power, there being none ſuperior or co-ordinate with them. So that unleſs there be ſome authority and power ſo full and ſo high as to reſtrain and keep things in better order, and that may be a check to theſe exorbitancies, it will be impoſſible in human reaſon to prevent our ruin."

Whitelock anſwered: "I confeſs the danger we are in by theſe extravagancies and inordinate powers, is more than I doubt is generally apprehended; yet as to that part of it which concerns the ſoldiery, your excellency's power and commiſſion is ſufficient already to reſtrain and keep them in their due obedience: And, bleſſed be God, you have done it hitherto, and I doubt not but by your wiſdom you will be able ſtill to do it. As to the members of parliament, I confeſs the greateſt difficulty lies there, your commiſſion being from them, and they being acknowledged the ſupreme power of the nation, ſubject to no controul, nor allowing any appeal from them. Yet, I am ſure, your excellency will not look upon them as generally depraved; too many of them are much to blame in thoſe things you mentioned, and many unfit things have paſſed among them; but I hope well of the major part of them, when great matters come to a deciſion."

The lord-general replied, "There is little hopes of a good ſettlement to be made by them, really there is not; but a great deal of fear that they will deſtroy again what the Lord hath done graciouſly for them and us: We all forget God, and God will forget us, and give us up to confuſion, and theſe men will help it on, if they be ſuffered to proceed in their ways: Some courſe muſt be thought on to curb and reſtrain them, or we ſhall be ruined by them."

them." Upon this Whitelock ſaid, "We ourſelves have acknowledged them the ſupreme power, and taken our commiſſions and authority in the higheſt concerniments from them; and how to reſtrain and curb them after this, it will be hard to find out a way for it."

The general then put this ſhort queſtion to Whitelock, "What if a man ſhould take upon him to be king;" Whitelock ſaid, "He thought that remedy would be worſe than the diſeaſe:" And the general aſking him, "Why he thought ſo" he proceeded, "As to your own perſon, the title of king would be of no advantage, becauſe you have the full kingly power in you already, concerning the militia, as you are general: As to the nomination of civil officers, thoſe whom you think fitteſt are ſeldom refuſed; and altho' you have no negative vote in the paſſing of the laws, nevertheleſs what you diſlike will not eaſily be carried; and the taxes are already ſettled, and in your power to diſpoſe of the money raiſed. And as to foreign affairs, tho' the ceremonial application be made to the parliament, yet the expectation of good or bad ſucceſs in it, is from your excellency; and particular ſolicitations of foreign miniſters are made to you only. So that I apprehend indeed leſs envy and danger, and pomp, but not leſs power and real opportunities of doing good in your being general, than would be if you had aſſumed the title of king."

The lord-general proceeded to argue, "That whoever was actually king by election, the acts done by him were as lawful and juſtifiable, as if done by a king, who had the crown by inheritance; and that by an act of parliament in king Henry the ſeventh's reign, it was ſafer for the people to act under a king, let his title be what it will, than under any other power." Whitelock agreed to the legality, but much doubted the expediency of it; and being aſked, "What danger he apprehended

in taking this title," he anſwered, "The danger I think would be this: One of the main points of controverſy betwixt us and our adverſaries, is, Whether the government of this nation ſhall be eſtabliſhed in monarchy, or in a free ſtate or common-wealth? And moſt of our friends have engaged with us, upon the hopes of having the government ſettled in a free ſtate, and to effect that have undergone all their hazards and difficulties; they being perſuaded (tho' I think much miſtaken) that under the government of a common-wealth, they ſhall enjoy more liberty and right, both as to their ſpiritual and civil concernments, than they ſhall under monarchy, the preſſures and diſlike whereof are ſo freſh in their memories and ſufferings. Now if your excellency ſhall take upon you the title of king, this ſtate of your cauſe will be thereby fully determined, and monarchy eſtabliſhed in your perſon; and the queſtion will be no more whether our government ſhall be by a monarch or by a free ſtate, but, whether Cromwell or Stuart ſhall be our king and monarch. And that queſtion, wherein before ſo great parties of the nation were engaged, which was univerſal, will by this means become in effect a private controverſy only; before it was national, what kind of government we ſhould have; now it will become particular, who ſhall be our governor, whether of the family of the Stuarts, or of the family of the Cromwells. Thus the ſtate of our controverſy being totally changed, all thoſe who were for a common-wealth (and they are a very great and conſiderable party) having their hopes therein fruſtrated, will deſert you, your hands will be weakened, your intereſt ſtreightened, and your cauſe in apparent danger to be ruined."

The general here acknowledged that Whitelock ſpoke reaſon, and aſked him, "What other thing he could propound, that might obviate the preſent dangers

dangers and difficulties, wherein they were all involved." Whitelock confeſſed, it would be the greateſt difficulty to find out ſuch an expedient, but ſaid, he had had ſome things in his private thought upon this matter, which he feared were not fit, or ſafe for him to communicate. But upon the general's preſſing him to diſcloſe them, and promiſing there ſhould no prejudice come to him by any private diſcourſe betwixt them, and aſſuring him, he ſhould never betray his friend, and that he ſhould take kindly whatever he ſhould offer; Whitelock began thus: "Give me leave then firſt to conſider your excellency's condition. You are invironed with ſecret enemies: Upon your ſubduing of the publick enemy, the officers of your army account themſelves all victors, and to have had an equal ſhare in the conqueſt with you. The ſucceſs which God hath given us, hath not a little elated their minds, and many of them are buſy, and of turbulent ſpirits, and are not without their deſigns how they may diſmount your excellency, and ſome of themſelves get up into the ſaddle; how they may bring you down, and ſet up themſelves. They want not counſel and encouragement herein, it may be, from ſome members of the parliament, who may be jealous of your power and greatneſs, leſt you ſhould grow too high for them, and in time overmaſter them; and they will plot to bring you down firſt, or to clip your wings."

The general upon this thanked Whitelock for ſo fully conſidering his condition: "It is, ſaid he, a teſtimony of your love to me and care of me, and you have rightly conſidered it; and I may ſay without vanity, that in my condition yours is involved and all our friends, and thoſe that plot my ruin will hardly bear your continuance in any condition worthy of you. Beſides this, the cauſe itſelf may poſſibly receive ſome diſadvantage, by the ſtrugglings and contentions among ourſelves. But what,

Sir,

Sir, are your thoughts for prevention of thoſe miſchiefs that hang over our heads?"

Whitelock then proceeded: "Pardon me, Sir, in the next place a little to conſider the condition of the king of Scots. This prince being now by your valour, and the ſucceſs which God hath given to the parliament, and to the army under your command, reduced to a very low condition, both he, and all about him, cannot but be very inclinable to hearken to any terms, whereby their loſt hopes may be revived of his being reſtored to the crown, and they to their fortunes and native country. By a private treaty with him you may ſecure yourſelf, your friends, and their fortunes; you may make yourſelf and your poſterity as great and permanent to all human probability, as ever any ſubject was, and provide for your friends: You may put ſuch limits to monarchical power, as will ſecure the cauſe in which we are all engaged; and this may be effectually done, by having the power of the militia continued in yourſelf, and whom you ſhall agree upon after you. I propound therefore for your excellency to ſend to the king of Scots, and to have a private treaty with him for this purpoſe."

The general hereupon told him, he thought he had much reaſon for what he propounded; "But, ſaid he, it is a matter of ſo high importance and difficulty, that it deſerves more time of conſideration and debate, than is at preſent allowed us: We ſhall therefore take a farther time to diſcourſe of it." And with that he broke off, and went away with ſome diſpleaſure in his countenance. His carriage alſo towards Whitelock was from that time altered, and his adviſing with him not ſo frequent and intimate as formerly; and not long after, he found an occaſion, by an honourable employment, to ſend him out of the way, that he might be no hindrance to him in the deſigns he was then carrying on. For it is pretty manifeſt, that he had it now

in

in his thoughts to ſet up himſelf, and bring the crown upon his own head: To which purpoſe Harry Nevill who was then one of the council of ſtate, uſed to tell it as a ſtory of his own knowledge, "That Cromwell upon this great occaſion ſent for ſome of the chief city divines, as if he made it a matter of conſcience to be determined by their advice. Among theſe was the leading Mr. Calamy, who very boldly oppoſed the project of Cromwell's ſingle government, and offered to prove it both *unlawful* and *impracticable*. Cromwell anſwered readily upon the firſt head of *unlawful*, and appealed to the ſafety of the nation being the ſupreme law:" 'But, ſays he, pray Mr. Calamy, why impracticable?' Calamy reply'd, 'Oh, it is againſt the voice of the nation, there will be nine in ten againſt you.' 'Very well, ſays Cromwell, but what if I ſhould diſarm the nine, and put the ſword in the tenth man's hand, would not that do the buſineſs?'

Harry Nevill's ſtory concerning Cromwell.

General Cromwell and his officers, in order to bring about their deſigns, were now daily complaining of the grievances from the *long parliament*, and ſeemed very zealous upon the common pretences of right and juſtice, and public liberty, to put a period to their ſeſſion; "Which if they would not ſhortly do themſelves, the army and people muſt do it for them." They particularly complained, "That the parliament ordered all things at will, and diſtributed all valuable employments among themſelves; that they were ſo many kings, and for one ſovereign, the nation had many, who cared leſs for the laws than he they had deſtroyed; that they embrued the kingdom in blood, upon pretence of puniſhing the adverſaries of the government, but in reality to gratify their own private revenge; that they had ſtudied to perpetuate themſelves in an employment which ought to be temporary, ſo that all the good ſubjects of the common-

He and his officers complain of the long parliament.

commonwealth might ſhare in it; that the parliament ought to be diſſolved, and a new repreſentative choſen by the univerſal conſent of the people, according to the ſcheme laid when monarchy was aboliſhed to ſet up a commonwealth." And that no obſtacle might be in the way of the deſigned future government, means were found to ſet the young duke of Glouceſter at liberty, and ſend him out of the nation.

He writes to the Cardinal de Retz.

It was about this time that Cromwell ſent a letter to the Cardinal de Retz in France; which the ſaid Cardinal thus relates in his Memoirs: "It is remarkable that the ſame night, as I was going home (*viz.* after he had been to carry ſome money he had borrowed for king Charles, who was now at Paris) I met one Tilney, an Engliſhman, whom I had formerly known at Rome, who told me that Vere, a great parliamentarian and a favourite of Cromwell, was arrived at Paris, and had orders to ſee me. I was a little perplexed; however, I thought it would be improper to refuſe him an interview. He gave me a letter from Cromwell in the nature of credentials, importing, that the ſentiments I had diſcovered in the defence of public liberty, added to my reputation, and had induced him to enter into the ſtricteſt friendſhip with me. It was a moſt civil complaiſant letter, and I anſwered it with a great deal of reſpect; but in ſuch a manner as became a true Catholick and an honeſt Frenchman."

Another ſea-fight between the Engliſh and Dutch.

On the 18th of February, there happened another dreadful fight between the Engliſh fleet commanded by Blake, Dean, and Monk, and the Dutch under Van Trump. This fight laſted three days with wonderful bravery, and terrible ſlaughter on both ſides, though the Engliſh prevailed; for the Dutch loſt eleven men of war, and thirty merchant ſhips; above two thouſand of their men being killed, and fifteen hundred taken priſoners: But the Engliſh

Engliſh loſt but one ſhip, the Southampton, which was ſunk; tho' their ſlain were not many leſs than thoſe of the enemy.

This great loſs ſo ſenſibly affected the ſtates of Holland and Weſt-Friezeland, that they diſpatched letters to the Engliſh parliament, to endeavour after ſome means for putting an end to this cruel war. This negotiation had no effect, tho' it was particularly promoted by general Cromwell himſelf, who was very deſirous to have a peace concluded. The ſtates had offered to acknowledge the Engliſh ſovereignty of the Britiſh ſeas, and to pay three hundred thouſand pounds to the Engliſh commonwealth; but finding this was not likely to ſucceed, they apply'd themſelves (as we are told) more directly to general Cromwell, promiſing him vaſt ſums, if he would venture to depoſe and diſſolve the parliament. The Dutch deſire peace.

However this was, the general and his officers ſtill continued their complaints againſt the parliament; and petitions, addreſſes, and remonſtrances were daily preſented from the army, "For the payment of their arrears, the putting an end to this parliament, and ſummoning a more equal repreſentative; which they told them would be the moſt popular action they could perform." Some of the officers were indeed very much concerned at theſe proceedings, and openly proteſted againſt them. Major Streater was ſo bold as to declare, "That the general intended to ſet up himſelf, and that it was a betraying of their moſt glorious cauſe, for which ſo much blood had been ſpilt." But Harriſon, who was one of the leaders of that party, now known by the name of *Fifth-monarchy men*, told him, "He was aſſured, the general did not ſeek himſelf in it, but did it to make way for the rule of Jeſus, that he might have the Sceptre." To whom the major thus reply'd, "That unleſs Jeſus came very ſuddenly, he would come too late." 1653.

The proceedings of the houſe on this occaſion.

The parliament being very ſenſible of theſe proceedings, a great debate aroſe thereupon in the houſe; where ſeveral of the members, out of juſtice, reaſon, or a foreſeen neceſſity, appeared to be for a diſſolution, and a new repreſentative to be choſen; but in the end it was declared, that the diſſolution of the parliament, was too high a matter for any private perſons to meddle with; and to give a timely check to any farther preſumption of that nature, a committee was appointed to prepare an act of parliament with all poſſible expedition, "For filling up of their houſe, and for ſettling their qualifications; and to declare it high-treaſon for any man to propoſe or contrive the changing of the preſent government."

Gen. Cromwell holds a conſultation thereupon.

General Cromwell perceiving how unwilling they were to part with their power and authority, which they had ſo long enjoyed, on the 19th of April, held a conſultation with the chief of his friends in the parliament and army, at his lodgings in Whitehall, to conſider of ſome expedient for the preſent carrying on the government of the commonwealth, and putting a period to the parliament. Some few, particularly Sir Thomas Widdrington and commiſſioner Whitelock, declared what a dangerous thing it was to diſſolve the parliament, and how difficult it would be to erect any other form of government: But the general, and moſt of his officers, with ſeveral members of the houſe, delivered their opinion, "That it was neceſſary to take ſome new meaſures, and that it was not fit the preſent aſſembly of parliament ſhould be permitted to prolong their own power." The conference laſted till late at night, when, without coming to any concluſion, the meeting was adjourned to the next morning. Moſt of them being then again met, the point in debate was, "Whether forty perſons, or about that number, of parliament men and officers of the army, ſhould be nominated by the parliament, and

and impowered for managing the affairs of the commonwealth, till a new parliament ſhould meet, and ſo the preſent parliament be forthwith diſſolved." The lord-general being informed, during this debate, that the parliament was ſitting, and that it was hoped they would put a period to themſelves, which would be the moſt honourable diſſolution for them; he thereupon broke off the meeting, and the members of parliament that were with him, left him at his lodgings, and went to the houſe; where, contrary to their expectation, inſtead of coming to any reſolutions of immediately diſſolving themſelves, they found them in debate of an act, by which the preſent parliament was to be continued above a year and a half longer, and then to be diſſolved.

He by force diſſolves the parliament and the commonwealth.

Colonel Ingoldſby came back to the general, and informed him what the houſe was upon: At which the general, who expected they ſhould have meddled with no other buſineſs, but putting an immediate period to their own ſitting without any more delay, was ſo enraged, that he immediately commanded ſome of the officers to fetch a party of ſoldiers, (to the number of three hundred) with which marching directly to Weſtminſter, he placed ſome of them at the door, ſome in the Lobby, and others on the ſtairs. Himſelf going into the houſe, firſt addreſſed himſelf to his friend St. John, and told him, "That he then came to do that which grieved him to the very ſoul, and what he had earneſtly with tears prayed to God againſt: Nay, that he had rather be torn in pieces than do it: But that there was a neceſſity laid upon him therein, in order to the glory of God, and the good of the nation." Then he ſat down and heard their debates for ſome time on the forementioned act; after which, calling to major-general Harriſon, who was on the other ſide of the houſe, to come to him, he told him, "That he judged the parlia-

ment ripe for a diſſolution, and this was to be the time of doing it." Harriſon anſwered, "Sir, the work is very great and dangerous, therefore I deſire you ſeriouſly to conſider of it, before you engage in it." *You ſay well*, reply'd the general; and thereupon ſat ſtill for about a quarter of an hour; and then the queſtion for paſſing the ſaid act being put, he ſaid again to Harriſon, "This is the time, I muſt do it." And ſo ſtanding up on a ſudden, he bad the ſpeaker leave the chair, and told the houſe, "That they had ſat long enough, unleſs they had done more good; that ſome of them were whore-maſters, (looking then towards Harry Martin and Sir Peter Wentworth;) that others of them were drunkards, and ſome corrupt and unjuſt men, and ſcandalous to the profeſſion of the goſpel; and that it was not fit they ſhould ſit as a parliament any longer, and therefore he muſt deſire them to go away." He charged them with "not having a heart to do any thing for the public good, and eſpouſing the intereſt of preſbytery and the lawyers, who were the ſupporters of tyranny and oppreſſion; and accuſed them of an intention to perpetuate themſelves in power." When ſome of the members began to ſpeak, he ſtepped into the midſt of the houſe, and ſaid, "Come, come, I will put an end to your prating:" Then walking up and down the houſe, he cry'd out, "You are no parliament, I ſay you are no parliament;" and ſtamping with his feet, he bad them "for ſhame be gone, and give place to honeſt men." Upon this ſignal the ſoldiers entered the houſe, and he bad one of them, "Take away that bauble," meaning the mace; and Harriſon taking the ſpeaker by the arm, he came down. Then (as Ludlow informs us) the general addreſſing himſelf again to the members, who were about a hundred, ſaid, "It is you that have forced me to this, for I have ſought the Lord night and day, that he would rather ſlay me, than

put

put me upon the doing of this work." And then ſeizing on all their papers, he ordered the ſoldiers to ſee the houſe cleared of all members; and having cauſed the doors to be locked up, went away to Whitehall. "Thus, as Whitelock obſerves, it pleaſed God, that this aſſembly, famous throughout the world for its undertakings, actions and ſucceſſes, having ſubdued all their enemies, were themſelves overthrown and ruined by their ſervants; and thoſe whom they had raiſed, now pulled down their maſters: An example never to be forgotten, and ſcarce to be paralleled in any ſtory! By which all perſons may be inſtructed, how uncertain and ſubject to change all worldly affairs are; how apt to fall when we think them higheſt."

The general being returned to Whitehall, found the officers who were there aſſembled, in debate concerning this weighty affair, and told them, "He had done it, and they needed not to trouble themſelves any farther about it." Some of thoſe officers, who diſliked what the general had done, particularly colonel Okey, repaired to him to deſire ſatisfaction in that proceeding, apprehending the way they were now in, tended to ruin and deſtruction. To theſe he made large pretenſions to honeſty and concern for the public weal, profeſſing himſelf reſolved to do much more good, and with more expedition than could be expected from the parliament. This put moſt of them to ſilence, and made them willing to wait for a farther diſcovery of his deſign, before they proceeded ſo far as to break with him.

Having thus diſſolved the parliament, general Cromwell went the ſame day in the afternoon to the council of ſtate, attended by the major-generals Lambert and Harriſon; and as he entered, ſpoke thus to them, "Gentlemen, if you are met here as private perſons, you ſhall not be diſturbed; but if as a council of ſtate, this is no place for you:

And

And ſince you cannot but know what was done at the houſe in the morning, ſo take notice, that the parliament is diſſolved." Serjeant Bradſhaw boldly anſwered; "Sir, we have heard what you did at the houſe in the morning, and before many hours all England will hear it: But, Sir, you are miſtaken, to think that the parliament is diſſolved; for no power under heaven can diſſolve them but themſelves: Therefore take you notice of that." Some others alſo ſpoke to the ſame purpoſe: But the council finding themſelves to be under the ſame force, they all quietly departed.

THE

THE LIFE OF OLIVER CROMWELL.

PART III.

Containing his ACTIONS in the PROTECTORATE; from the diſſolution of the Long Parliament, to his Death.

CHAP. I.

From the diſſolution of the Long Parliament, to the meeting of Cromwell's *firſt Parliament.*

THE formidable body at Weſtminſter being thus forcibly diſſolved, the lord-general and his party were very buſy in conſulting how to manage the government, which by this means was fallen into their hands. This ſingle action made Cromwell maſter of three kingdoms; for tho' he did not take upon himſelf the title of *Protector*, till ſeveral months after, yet his power was in effect the ſame, from the very moment that he ſucceeded in this bold undertaking: Soon after which, he ſent for

1653. The general conſults how to carry on the government.

for major Salloway and Mr. John Carew, and complained to them of "the great weight of affairs that by this means was fallen upon him; affirming, that the thoughts of the conſequence thereof made him to tremble; and therefore deſired them to free him from the temptations that might be laid before him, and to that end to go immediately to the chief juſtice St. John, and Mr. Selden, and ſome others, and endeavour to perſuade them to draw up ſome inſtrument of government, that might put the power out of his hands." To this major Salloway anſwered, "The way, Sir, to free you from this temptation, is for you not to look upon your ſelf to be under it, but to reſt perſuaded, that the power of this nation is in the good people of England, as formerly it was." This anſwer was tho't to be not very agreeable to the general, who now appointed a meeting of the chief officers of the army to be at Whitehall, in order to deliberate what was proper to be done in this exigency; and with their advice, he, in the firſt place, publiſhed a declaration of the grounds and reaſons for their diſſolving the late parliament; which was to the following effect:

"That after God was pleaſed marvellouſly to appear for his people, in reducing of Ireland and Scotland to ſo great a degree of peace, and England to perfect quiet; whereby the parliament had opportunity to give the people the harveſt of all their labour, blood, and treaſure, and to ſettle a due liberty in reference to civil and ſpiritual things; whereunto they were obliged by their duty, engagements, and thoſe great and wonderful things God hath wrought for them; they notwithſtanding made ſo little progreſs therein, that it was matter of much grief to the good people of the land; who thereupon applied themſelves to the army, expecting redreſs by their means; who (tho' unwilling to meddle with the civil authority) agreed that ſuch officers,

officers, as were members of parliament, ſhould move them to proceed vigorouſly in reforming what was amiſs in the common-wealth, and in ſettling it upon a foundation of juſtice and righteouſneſs; which being done, it was hoped the parliament would have anſwered their expectations. But finding the contrary, they renewed their deſires by an humble petition in Auguſt, 1652, which produced no conſiderable effect, nor was any ſuch progreſs made therein, as might imply their real intentions to accompliſh what was petitioned for, but rather an averſeneſs to the things themſelves, with much bitterneſs and oppoſition to the people of God, and his Spirit acting in them; inſomuch that the godly party in parliament were rendered of no farther uſe than to countenance the ends of a corrupt party, for effecting their deſigns of perpetuating themſelves in the ſupreme government. For obviating theſe evils, the officers of the army obtained ſeveral meetings with ſome of the parliament, to conſider what remedy might be applied to prevent the ſame: But ſuch endeavours proving ineffectual, it became evident, that this parliament, through the corruption of ſome, the jealouſy of others, and the non-attendance of many, would never anſwer thoſe ends, which God, his people, and the whole nation expected from them; but that this cauſe, which God had ſo greatly bleſſed, muſt needs languiſh under their hands, and by degrees be loſt; and the lives, liberties, and comforts of his people be delivered into their enemies hands. All which being ſadly and ſeriouſly conſidered by the honeſt people of the nation, as well as by the army, it ſeemed a duty incumbent upon us, who had ſeen ſo much of the power and preſence of God, to conſider of ſome effectual means, whereby to eſtabliſh righteouſneſs and peace in theſe nations. And after much debate, it was judged neceſſary, that the ſupreme government ſhould

be by the parliament devolved upon known perſons fearing God, and of approved integrity, for a time, as the moſt hopeful way to countenance all God's people, reform the law, and adminiſter juſtice impartially; hoping thereby the people might forget monarchy, and underſtand their true intereſt in the election of ſucceſſive parliaments; that ſo the government might be ſettled upon a right baſis, without hazard to this glorious cauſe, or neceſſitating to keep up armies for the defence of the ſame. And being ſtill reſolved to uſe all means poſſible to avoid extraordinary courſes, we prevailed with about twenty members of parliament to give us a conference; with whom we plainly debated the neceſſity and juſtice of our propoſals; the which found no acceptance, but inſtead thereof, it was offered, That the way was, to continue ſtill this parliament, as being that from which we might probably expect all good things. This being vehemently inſiſted on did much confirm us in our apprehenſions, that not any love to a repreſentative, but the making uſe thereof to recruit, and ſo to perpetuate themſelves, was their aim in the act they had then under conſideration. For preventing the conſummating whereof, and all the ſad and evil conſequences, which, upon the grounds aforeſaid, muſt have enſued, and whereby at one blow the intereſt of all honeſt men, and of this glorious cauſe, had been endangered to be laid in the duſt, and theſe nations embroiled in new troubles, at a time when our enemies abroad were watching all advantages againſt, and ſome of them actually engaged in war with us; we have been neceſſitated (tho' with much reluctancy) to put an end to this parliament." Then they promiſed, to put the government into the hands of *perſons of approved fidelity and honeſty*; and at laſt declared, "That all magiſtrates and officers whatſoever ſhall proceed in their reſpective places and offices, and obedience

ſhall

ſhall be paid to them as fully, as when the parliament was ſitting."

This declaration was ſubſcribed by the lord-general, and his council of officers, Whitehall, April 22d, 1653. Which council of officers and ſome others, were ſoon after formed into a council of ſtate, which was compoſed of the thirty perſons following; Cromwell, Fleetwood, Lambert, Liſle, Harriſon, Deſborough, Pickering, Wolleſly, Aſhley-Cooper, Hope, Hewſon, Norton, Montague, Bennet, Stapeley, Sydenham, Tomlinſon, Jones, Tichburn, Strickland, Carew, Howard, Broughton, Lawrence, Holiſter, Courtney, Major, St. Nicholas, Moyer, and Williams.

The diſſolution of the parliament was very grateful and acceptable to a great many people; and this declaration, being ſent out into all the dominions of the common-wealth, was anſwered by many congratulations and addreſſes from the fleet, and army, and people, promiſing to ſtand by the general and his council of officers, and acknowledging the juſtice of the late action. (And this, by the way, gave riſe to the practice of addreſſing, which beginning firſt under Oliver and his ſon Richard, has been ſo common in all the reigns ſince.) The ſaid declaration was on the 30th day of April, ſeconded by this enſuing, which met with equal ſubmiſſion and obedience.

"Whereas the parliament being diſſolved, *perſons of approved fidelity and honeſty* are (according to the late declaration of the 22d of April laſt) to be called from the ſeveral parts of this commonwealth to the ſupreme authority; and although effectual proceedings are, and have been had, for perfecting thoſe reſolutions; yet ſome convenient time being required for the aſſembling of thoſe perſons, it hath been found neceſſary, for preventing the miſchiefs and inconveniencies which may ariſe in the mean while to the public affairs, that a *council of ſtate* be

conſtituted, to take care of, and intend the peace, ſafety, and preſent management of the affairs of this common-wealth; which being ſettled accordingly, the ſame is hereby declared and publiſhed, to the end all perſons may take notice thereof, and in their ſeveral places and ſtations, demean themſelves peaceably, giving obedience to the laws of the nation as heretofore; in the exerciſe and adminiſtration whereof, as endeavours ſhall be uſed that no oppreſſion or wrong be done to the people, ſo a ſtrict account will be required of all ſuch as ſhall do any thing to endanger the public peace and quiet, upon any pretence whatſoever."

Subſcribed O. Cromwell.

The lord-general Cromwell having now in effect the ſupreme power in his hands, the firſt remarkable paſſage, that befel him, was at ſea. The Dutch had formed mighty expectations from the late revolutions in England, believing, the Engliſh would by this means be brought to fall together by the ears, and ſo their work would be very eaſy with them. With theſe hopes, notwithſtanding their late pretences to peace, they with all imaginable diligence, ſet out a greater fleet to ſea, that they had done before; and Van Trump boaſted he would fire the Engliſh ſhips in their harbours, and the Downs, before the Engliſh fleet could get out. But the new government, well knowing what credit was to be given to the Dutch proteſtations, "of their ſincere love and affection to the Engliſh nation, &c." were not behind-hand with them, but did every thing that might advance to the maritime preparations; ſo that in May they ſent out another gallant fleet conſiſting of a hundred ſhips of all ſorts, under the command of Monk and Dean as admirals, Pen, as vice admiral, and Lawſon as rear-admiral. On the ſecond of June, early in the morning, they engaged the Dutch fleet under Van Trump, De Ruyter,

Victory over the Dutch at ſea.

Ruyter, De Wit, and the two Evertſons, conſiſting of a hundred and four men of war, twelve galliots, and nine fireſhips. This fight happened not far from the coaſt of Flanders, the beginning of which was ſo frail, that at the firſt broad-ſide of the enemy, admiral Dean was ſhot off almoſt in the middle by a cannon ball. The fight continued till three in the afternoon, when the wind coming up contrary to the Engliſh, the Dutch fled, and were purſued by the lighteſt of the Engliſh frigates. The next morning, the two fleets found themſelves again near each other, but the wind was ſo ſlack, that Monk could not come to engage the enemy till about noon; and then the battle began again, and continued very hot on both ſides, till ten at night. The Engliſh fleet charged the Dutch with ſo much bravery and reſolution, that they put them into very great diſorder; ſo that tho' Van Trump fired on them to rally them, he could not procure above twenty ſhips of his whole fleet to ſtand by him, the reſt making all the ſail they could away to the eaſtward: And the wind blowing a freſh gale from the weſtward, the Engliſh purſued them with ſuch ſucceſs, that they ſunk ſix of their beſt ſhips, blew up two others, and took eleven, with thirteen hundred and fifty priſoners, among whom were ſix of their principal captains. Towards the end of this battle, admiral Blake came in with eighteen freſh ſhips; and had not the Dutch ſheltered themſelves between Dunkirk and Calais, where 'twas not ſafe for the Engliſh to expoſe their great ſhips, by reaſon of the ſands; moſt of their fleet had in all probablity been taken or deſtroyed. The loſs of the Engliſh was greateſt in their admiral Dean: Beſides him there was but one captain, and about a hundred and fifty common ſea-men killed: More were wounded, but they loſt not one ſhip. Having put their priſoners on ſhoar, and left ſome of their ſhips to be refitted, they returned to the coaſt of Holland, where for ſome time they blocked up the Dutch

Dutch in their own harbours, and plied to and again betwixt the Texel and the Uly, to hinder ſhips coming out from thence to join with that part of the Dutch fleet which was got into the Wielings, and to ſtop up their trade and fiſhing.

Cromwell prepares for a new parliament.

At home, general Cromwell and his council of officers were in the mean time very buſy in preparing for a new kind of parliament. Major general Lambert moved, that a few perſons, not exceeding ten or twelve, might be intruſted with the ſupreme authority: Major-general Harriſon was for a greater number, of the Jewiſh Sanhedrim. But after ſome debate, it was reſolved by the general and his council to ſummon ſelect perſons, to be nominated by themſelves, out of every county; who ſhould be a repreſentative of the whole nation: And the ſeveral perſons having been agreed upon, letters from the general were thus directed to each of them.

"Foraſmuch as upon the diſſolution of the late parliament, it became neceſſary that the peace, ſafety, and good government of this commonwealth ſhould be provided for; and in order thereunto, divers perſons fearing God, and of approved fidelity and honeſty, are by myſelf, with the advice of my council of officers, nominated, to whom the great charge and truſt of ſo weighty affairs is to be committed; and having good aſſurance of your love to, and courage for God, and the intereſt of this cauſe, and of the good people of this common-wealth: I Oliver Cromwell, captain-general and commander in chief of all the armies and forces raiſed and to be raiſed within this commonwealth, do hereby ſummon and require you being one of the perſons nominated, perſonally to appear at the council-chamber at Whitehall within the city of Weſtminſter, upon the fourth day of July, next enſuing the date hereof, then and there to take upon you the ſaid truſt, unto which you are hereby

by called, and appointed to ſerve as a member of the county of——And hereof you are not to fail. Given under my hand this eighth day of June, 1653. O. Cromwell."

Before the meeting of this convention, ſeveral other acts of authority were performed by the general. On the 14th of June, he and the council of ſtate put forth a declaration, "To invite all the good people in theſe nations to thankfulneſs, and holy rejoycing in the Lord, for the late great victory at ſea againſt the Dutch." And he appointed a day for the meeting of himſelf and his council of officers for that purpoſe. Many people were the more pleaſed with this, becauſe it was not a command impoſed on them, but only an invitation to keep a day of publick thankſgiving. On the 22d, that there might be no interruption to the adminiſtration of juſtice, the general with the council of ſtate nominated the judges for the ſummer circuit. And a few days after, they paſſed an order, forbidding all riotous aſſemblies in the great level of the fens, and the throwing down of fences and incloſures there.

CHAP. II. 2.

From the meeting of his First Parliament, to his being declared Protector *by the Instrument of Government.*

Cromwell's first parliament.

THE ſeveral perſons ſummoned by general Cromwell to take upon them the ſupreme authority, appeared on the appointed day, July 4, about eleven weeks after the diſſolution of the late parliament, in the council-chamber at Whitehall, to the number of about a hundred and twenty. Being ſet round the table, the general, attended by many of his officers, ſtanding about the middle of the table, made a ſpeech to them, "Of the fear of God, and the honour due to his name; remembering them of the wonderful mercies of God to this nation, and the continued ſeries of providence, by which he had appeared in carrying on his cauſe, and bringing affairs into that preſent glorious condition, wherein they now were. Then he reminded them of the noble actions of the army in the famous battle of Worceſter, and of the applications they had made to the parliament for a good ſettlement of all the affairs of the common-wealth, the neglect whereof made it abſolutely neceſſary to diſſolve it. Hence he ſhewed them the cauſe of their ſummons, and aſſured them by many arguments, ſome of which were taken from ſcripture, "That they had a clear call to take upon them the ſuperme authority of the common-wealth." He ſaid, that he never looked to ſee ſuch a day, when Jeſus Chriſt ſhould be ſo owned, as this day was; and that he had not allowed himſelf in the choice of one perſon, in whom he had not this good hope, That there was faith in Jeſus Chriſt, and love unto all his ſaints and people." And concluded with a very earneſt deſire, "That great tenderneſs might be uſed towards all conſci-

conſcientious perſons, of what judgment ſoever they appeared to be."

His ſpeech being ended, he delivered to them an inſtrument engroſſed in parchment under his hand and ſeal, whereby, with the advice of his council of officers, he did devolve and intruſt the ſupreme authority and government of this common-wealth into the hands of the perſons then met; and declared, "That they, or any forty of them, were to to be held and acknowledged the ſupreme authority of the nation, unto whom all perſons within the ſame were to yield obedience and ſubjection; that they ſhould not ſit longer than the third of November, 1654. and three months before their diſſolution ſhould make choice of other perſons to ſucceed them; who were to ſit no longer than a year, and to provide for a like ſucceſſion in the government."

Then the general and his officers withdrew, and the perſons thus commiſſioned, adjourned themſelves to the next day, to meet in the parliament-houſe; where they kept a faſt, and publiſhed a declaration, "To ſtir up the godly of the nation to ſeek God for a bleſſing upon their proceedings." They choſe Mr. Rouſe, an old gentleman of Devonſhire, and provoſt of Eton college, who had been a member of the long parliament, to be their ſpeaker; reſolved, that general Cromwel and his chief officers, Lambert, Harriſon, Deſborough, and Tomlinſon, ſhould ſit in the houſe as members; and at once voted themſelves to be the parliament of the common-wealth of England, and that all addreſſes ſhould be made to them under that title. Then they appointed ſeveral committees, "1. To conſider matters touching the law. 2. Touching priſoners and priſons. 3. For inſpection into treaſuries, and eaſing publick charges. 4. For Ireland. 5. For Scotland. 6. For the army. 7. For petitions. 8. To conſider what

Their proceedings.

ſhall be offered about public debts, publick fraud and breaches of truſt. 9. For regulating commiſſions of the peace, and for making proviſion for the poor. 10. For advance of trade. 11. For advancement of learning." And they referred it to a committee to conſider of the laws that hindered the progreſs of the goſpel, that they might be repealed. The chief laws made by this aſſembly were theſe: One for puniſhing ſeditious ſeamen: Another for marrying by juſtices of the peace, and regiſtering marriages, births, and burials: A third concerning the plantation of Ireland, ſettling the lands there upon the adventurers and ſoldiers: A fourth for payment of ſome publick debts.

Whitelock ſays, It was much wondered by ſome, that thoſe gentlemen, many of whom were perſons of fortune and knowledge, would upon ſuch a ſummons, and from ſuch hands, take upon them the ſupreme authority of this nation. The lord Clarendon informs us, that there were amongſt them divers of the quality and degree of gentlemen, who had eſtates, and ſuch a proportion of credit and reputation, as could conſiſt with the guilt they had contracted: But he ſays, that much the major part of them conſiſted of inferior perſons, of no quality or name. Ludlow gives them this character: "Many of the members of this aſſembly had manifeſted a good affection to the publick cauſe; (he means a common-wealth:) But ſome among them were brought in as ſpies and trepanners; who, though they had always been of the contrary party, made the higheſt pretenſions to the honeſty, and the ſervice of the nation. This aſſembly therefore being compoſed for the moſt part of honeſt and well-meaning perſons, who having good intentions, were leſs apt to ſuſpect the evil deſigns of others, thought themſelves in full poſſeſſion of the power and authority of the nation, &c." And others ſpeak thus of them: "This

"This very parliament, which had indeed procured very benficial orders in matters of leſſer moment, in the greater concernments had not ſoo good fortune. There was ſo much confuſion in their counſels, ſuch a contrariety in their opinions, ſuch a diſſonancy in their actions, and diſparity in their aims and projections, as that this ſenate was more like a monſter with many heads, than a well-ordered aſſembly or ſupreme council." One *Praiſe God Barebones*, a leather-ſeller in Fleet-ſtreet, was a very buſy man in this aſſembly; whence it had the name of Barebone's parliament. It was alſo called by ſome the little parliament; and from an order that none ſhould be admitted into the ſervice of the houſe, but ſuch of whoſe real godlineſs they were firſt ſatisfied, it was called the *Godly parliament*.

John Lilburn tried and acquitted.

Under this change of government, lieutenant-colonel John Lilburn, whoſe turbulent ſpirit in the time of the late parliament had procured his baniſhment, now finding their power at an end, came over into England, and very confidently addreſſed himſelf to general Cromwell for protection. But the general well knowing what ſpirit John was, committed him to Newgate, and left him to law: whereby he underwent a ſtrict trial, in which he diſcovered his parts and ſubtlety by the variety of his pleas, and his invincible temper by the boldneſs of his replies; and by the favour of the jury was at laſt acquitted. Oliver ſeemed to be much offended with him, and very deſirous to have him puniſhed; yet privately paid him a penſion equivalent to a lieutenant-colonel's pay. This perſon was of ſo undaunted and ungovernable a temper, as can ſcarce be parallelled in any nation. He was whipped and pillored in the time of the late king, and ſuffered three years impriſonment, till the times turned; when coming into play again, he became a grand leveller, and violent oppoſer of all that was uppermoſt. He obtained the name of Free-born John, and had ſuch an inveterate ſpi-

rit of contradiction, that 'twas commonly ſaid of him, "That if the world was emptied of all but himſelf, John would be againſt Lilburn, and Lilburn againſt John." Cromwell kept him in priſon for ſome time; and he at laſt died a quaker.

The Dutch again ſue for peace.

The Dutch were ſo humbled by the late defeat, that they immediately took up a reſolution for peace, and ſent over to England a veſſel with a white flag, and a meſſenger to prepare the way for two ambaſſadors to come over for that purpoſe. Gen. Cromwell was not averſe to a treaty, but would allow of no ceſſation till it was concluded. This being known in Holland, they could not bear to think of ſuffering ſo long the diſadvantage of being beſieged, and ſhut up in their ports; but with all poſſible expedition prepared another fleet, that might be ſufficient to remove the Engliſh from thence; ſo that in leſs than two months after their defeat, they had a fleet of an hundred and twenty-five ſail. From theſe wonderful preparations, they had ſo great confidence of ſucceſs, that they ſent admiral Van Trump out of the Wielings with ninety-five ſail, before the reſt were ready, which De Wit ſoon after brought up to him from the Texel.

They are again defeated by the Engliſh in a terrible ſea-fight.

On the 29th of July, the Engliſh ſcouts diſcovered Van Trump's fleet; of which they gave notice, that the whole fleet, which then lay about three leagues off to ſea, might make up to engage them: but the wind being againſt them, kept them from any action, till about ſix in the evening; when about thirty nimble frigates (the reſt being ſtill a-ſtern), began the encounter, which continued till the night parted them. The Dutch bore away towards the Texel, and being reinforced by the ſhips under De Wit, which were the prime of their navy, whereon they chiefly relied, Van Trump immediately endeavoured to put all in a fighting poſture, deſigning to engage the next day; when the wind being very high, the Engliſh fleet,

fleet, for fear of falling upon the flats, ſtood out to ſea. This made many of the Dutch ſuppoſe that the Engliſh were flying; inſomuch that one of the captains ſaid to Van Trump, "Sir, theſe dogs durſt not ſtand one broadſide from your excellency; you may ſee them plainly running home: and therefore, my lord, miſs not the opportunity." But Van Trump, who had had ſufficient experience of the Engliſh, and knew the meaning of their ſtanding off, gave him this ſhort anſwer, "Do you look to your charge; for if the Engliſh were but twenty ſail, I am ſure they will fight us." The next morning proving fair, both fleets prepared for the battle; and about five o' clock, the Dutch having the weathergage, began the fight ſomewhat at a diſtance; but it was not long before both fleets were deſperately engaged. The ſea was never adorned with a more gallant fight in the beginning of the day, nor covered with a more diſmal one in the latter end; and no fight was ever carried on with more bloody obſtinacy and rage, than this was for ſeveral hours together. In the midſt of this terrible encounter, admiral Van Trump, the glory of the Dutch nation, as he ſtood upon his quarter-deck with his ſword drawn, bravely encouraging his men, being ſhot into the heart with a muſquet ball, dropt down dead without ſpeaking a word. This ſtruck ſuch a terror into the enemy, and put them in ſuch confuſion, that they fled and made all the ſail they could towards the Texel. About thirty of their men of war were fired or ſunk, and a great many priſoners taken. The victory was great, but coſt the Engliſh dear; for eight of their brave captains, with about four hundred men were ſlain, and about ſeven hundred wounded; though they loſt but one ſhip. This victory was ſo acceptable to general Cromwell's parliament, that they appointed a day of thankſgiving for it, and ordered a narrative of it to be publickly read;

and

and gave ſeveral gold chains to Blake, Monk, Penn, and Lawſon for their good ſervice, and a gratuity to the reſt of the officers and ſeamen, according to their quality: and, 'tis ſaid, that the lord-general himſelf put the chain, and the medal, with the repreſentation of a ſea-fight, about Monk's neck; and having invited him to dinner, made him wear it all the while.

They apply for peace but in vain.

In Holland, after this laſt defeat, and the loſs of their brave admiral, all things were in great confuſion and diſtraction: the common people no longer obeyed their government; the placarts of the ſtates-general were contemned, and they in danger to be ruined and plundered by the ignorant and furious rabble. They therefore with all ſubmiſſion applied themſelves by their ambaſſadors to the Engliſh council of ſtate; but from them they could obtain no other terms of peace than a coalation, ſatisfaction for damages, and ſecurity againſt the like for the future, and that the Dutch ſhould take a leaſe for twenty-one years for fiſhing, and pay an annual rent. The council of ſtate being thus reſolute, the plenipotentiaries reſolved to try what terms of peace might be had from the parliament: but here they were more confounded and perplexed than before; they found it was very difficult to treat with, and impoſſible to prevail upon theſe men, who took the Dutch for the outworks of Babylon, and looked upon them as carnal and wordly politicians; enemies to the kingdom of Chriſt, which they thought was now approaching. In this difficult conjuncture; the ſtates met to conſult what was fit to be done. 'Twas then the opinion of Holland, never to enter into a coalition with England, but that a ſtrict league defenſive ſhould be propos'd; that they ought to contract foreign amities, particularly with France, and to equip out a fleet with all expedition. The reſt of the provinces were for making a league with the elector of Brandenburgh, and other German princes,

princes, and for aſſiſting the Scots, many of whom were now riſing under major-general Middleton. But theſe treaties were remote and dangerous, whilſt their neceſſities were preſent; for which reaſon they gave orders to their plenipotentiaries, "To protract time according as they ſaw diſorders to encreaſe between Cromwell and his ſupreme authority; to be ample in the generals concerning the defence of the reformed religion, and of the houſhold of faith; to reject the coalition, to offer to enter into a ſtrict and intimate league; but deal as tenderly as they could in point of reparation, ſatisfaction, or ſecurity."

This being known to the council of ſtate, it was communicated to the parliament; who thereupon ſaid, "That it was no more than was propheſy'd in ſcripture, and in courſe to be expected, That the gentiles ſhould rage, and the kings of the earth ſet themſelves againſt the kingdom of Chriſt; but they ſhould fall before him, and be broken in pieces." And they reſolved now to humble them, by impoſing very hard and mortifying articles upon them; ſo that they ſeemed to be in no better ſtate, than before the long parliament was diſſolved. In this extremity the Dutch plenipotentiaries made their applications to the lord-general Cromwell, aſſuring him, "That in caſe he would depoſe the preſent powers, and aſſume the government to himſelf, they would be ready to accord with him, upon more moderate terms, and enter into ſuch a defenſive alliance, as would ſecure him againſt all his foreign and domeſtick enemies." The general found, that the proceedings of this parliament, though all of his own chuſing, were ſo uncommon and unaccountable in many particulars, that none could judge of their deſign, or where they would end. And ſo upon both theſe accounts he reſolved to put a period to their power; and the means of doing it were concerted with Rouſe the

ſpeaker,

ſpeaker, and ſome of the general's ſelect friends in the houſe, who were to bring it to bear with as little diſturbance as might be.

Accordingly, on the 12th of December in the morning, the members, who were in the ſecret, being a little earlier than uſual, it was moved in the houſe, "That the ſitting of this parliament any longer, would not be for the good of the commonwealth, and that it would be fit for them to reſign up their powers into the hands of the lord-general." This being ſeconded and urged by Sydenham, Wolſley, and others, the members on the contrary ſide, who were there, were much ſtartled and ſpoke vehemently againſt it: Upon which thoſe who were for a reſignation, being apprehenſive, that by delaying time more might come to the houſe and outvote them, preſently moved, That all who were for a diſſolution, ſhould riſe and walk out. Accordingly, the ſpeaker and as many members as would follow him, went with the mace to White-hall, and by a writing under their hands, reſigned up their powers to the general. Above twenty of the members, whereof major-general Harriſon was one, continuing ſtill in the houſe, placed Mr. Moyer in the chair, and fell to proteſting againſt what the reſt had done; but a party of ſoldiers was ſent to turn them out, and ſo a period was put to this aſſembly, after a ſeſſion of five months and eight days.

By this reſignation, the politic Cromwell, with his council of officers, was once more poſſeſs'd of the ſupreme power of the kingdom; whereupon he thought fit to adviſe with them, and with other perſons of intereſt in the nation, "How this great burden of governing England, Scotland, and Ireland, with the armies therein, and the navy at ſea, ſhould be born, and by whom." Theſe ſoon reſolved, "That a council of godly, able and diſcreet perſons ſhould be named; and that the *Lord General* ſhould be choſen *Lord Protector* of the three nations."

Upon

Upon this a large inſtrument was drawn up, entitled, "The government of the common-wealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland;" commonly called, "The inſtrument of government." It conſiſted of forty-two articles, and was in ſubſtance as follows:

Cromwell declared Protector by the Inſtrument of government.

"That the ſupreme legiſlative authority be, and reſide in a ſingle perſon, and the people in parliament; the ſtile of which perſon to be Lord Protector of the common-wealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland. The executive power to be in the Protector, with the advice of his council; the number whereof not to exceed twenty-one, nor be leſs than thirteen. All proceedings to run in the name and ſtile of the Lord Protector; and all honours, offices and titles to be derived from him; and that he may pardon all offences but treaſon and murder. The militia, in time of parliament, to be in his and their hands; but in the intervals only in his and his council's. He and his council to make war and peace with foreign princes. Not to make new laws, or abrogate old ones, without conſent of parliament. A parliament to be ſummoned to meet at Weſtminſter upon the third day of September, 1654, and afterwards every third year, and, if need be, oftener, which the Protector ſhall not diſſolve without conſent in parliament, till after five months. The parliament to conſiſt of four hundred Engliſh, to be choſen according to the proportions and numbers hereafter expreſſed, that is to ſay, for the county of Bedford, ſix; viz. for the town of Bedford, one; for the county of Bedford, five. For the county of Berks, ſeven; viz. for the borough of Abingdon, one; for the borough of Reading, one; for the county of Berks, five, &c. (The members for Cornwall were in this inſtrument reduced to twelve; thoſe for Eſſex were enlarged to ſixteen; and the city of London was to chuſe ſix.) The members for Scotland were to be

thirty, and the ſame number for Ireland. The ſummoning the parliament to paſs under the ſeal of the common-wealth to the ſheriffs; and if the Protector omit or deny that, then the commiſſioner of the ſeal to be held under pain of treaſon to iſſue out ſuch writs; and in caſe of failure in him, the high-ſheriffs. Such as are elected, to be returned into the chancery by the chief magiſtrates (ſheriffs, mayors, or bailiffs) within twenty days after the election. If either the ſheriff, mayor or bailiff make a falſe return, or any ways procure an undue election, let him be fined two thouſand pounds. Thoſe who have born arms againſt the parliament to be uncapable of being elected, or giving their vote for any members to ſerve in the next parliament, or in the three ſucceeding triennial parliaments; and Iriſh rebels and papiſts to be for ever uncapable. None to be elected under the age of twenty-one years, nor unleſs he be a man of good converſation. None to have votes in elections but ſuch as are worth 200l. Sixty to make a Quorum. Bills preſented to the Protector, if not aſſented to by him within twenty days, to paſs into laws notwithſtanding; provided they contain nothing contrary to this inſtrument. A competent revenue to be ſettled for the maintenance of ten thouſand horſe and dragoons, and twenty thouſand foot, in England, Scotland and Ireland, and for a convenient number of ſhips to guard the ſeas; and upon abating any of the forces by land or ſea, the monies to be brought to the Exchequer to ſerve ſudden occaſions. The raiſing of money for defraying the charge of the preſent extraordinary forces both at land and ſea, to be by conſent in parliament and not otherwiſe; ſave only that the Protector, with the advice of his council, ſhall have power, until the meeting of the firſt parliament, to raiſe money for the purpoſes aforeſaid, and alſo to make laws and ordinances for the peace

peace and welfare of theſe nations; which ſhall be in force, till the parliament ſhall take order concerning the ſame. All forfeited lands unſold to belong to the Protector. The Protectorate to be elective, but the royal family to be excluded; and no Protector after the preſent to be general of the army. Oliver Cromwell to be the preſent Protector. All the great offices of the common-wealth, ſuch as chancellor, keeper of the ſeal, treaſurer, admiral, governor of Ireland and Scotland, &c. if they become void in time of parliament, to be ſupplied with their approbation, and in intervals of parliament with the approbation of the council. The Chriſtian Religion, as contained in the holy ſcriptures, to be the publick profeſſion of theſe nations; and thoſe that adminiſter it, to be maintained by the publick, but by ſome way more convenient and leſs liable to envy than tithes. None to be compelled to conſent to the publick profeſſion, by fine or any puniſhment whatever, but only by perſuaſion and arguments. None that profeſs faith in Chriſt, however otherwiſe they differ, to be reſtrained from; but to be protected in the exerciſe of their religion, ſo they do not quarrel with and diſturb others; this liberty not to extend to Popery or Prelacy. All ſales of parliament to ſtand good. Articles of peace to be kept. The Protectors ſucceſſively, upon entering on their charge, to ſwear to procure, by all means, the peace, quiet and welfare of the common-wealth, to obſerve theſe articles, and to adminiſter all things (to their power) according to the laws, ſtatues and cuſtoms."

All things being prepared, on the 16th of December, about three in the afternoon, his Excellency, the Lord General, went from Whitehall to the Chancery court, in the following manner: The commiſſioners of the great ſeal marched firſt; then the judges and barons in their robes; next to them

the council of the common-wealth; then the lord-mayor, aldermen, and recorder of London; after them, came the Lord General, attended with the chief officers of the army. In this proceſſion they aſcended the Chancery court, where was ſet a rich chair of ſtate, with a large cuſhion, and carpets on the floor. The General ſtood on the left hand of it uncovered, till the forementioned inſtrument was read; which his Excellency ſubſcribed in the face of the court, and took an oath in theſe words:

"Whereas the major part of the laſt parliament (judging that their ſitting any longer, as then conſtituted, would not be for the good of the common-wealth) did diſſolve the ſame, and by a writing under their hands, dated the 12th day of this inſtant December, reſigned unto me their powers and authorities: And whereas it was neceſſary thereupon, that ſome ſpeedy courſe ſhould be taken for the ſettlement of theſe nations upon ſuch a baſis and foundation, as, by the bleſſing of God, might be laſting, ſecure property, and anſwer thoſe great ends of religion and liberty, ſo long contended for: And upon full and mature conſideration had of the form of government hereunto annexed, being ſatisfied that the ſame, thro' divine aſſiſtance, may anſwer the ends aforementioned; and having alſo been deſired and adviſed, as well by ſeveral perſons of intereſt and fidelity in the common-wealth, as the officers of the army, to take upon me the protection and government of theſe nations, in the manner expreſſed in the ſaid form of government: I have accepted thereof, and do hereby declare my acceptance accordingly; and do promiſe in the preſence of God, that I will not violate or infringe the matters and things contained therein; but to my power, obſerve the ſame, and cauſe them to be all obſerved; and ſhall in all other things, to the beſt of my underſtanding, govern theſe nations according to the laws, ſtatues and cuſtoms, ſeeking their peace,

peace, and cauſing juſtice and law to be equally adminiſtered."

This done, he ſat down in the chair, covered; and the commiſſioners delivered up the great ſeal to him, and the lord-mayor his ſword and cap of maintenance; which the Protector immediately returned to them again. The ceremony being over, the ſoldiers with a ſhout cryed out, "God bleſs the Lord Protector of the common-wealth of England, Scotland and Ireland." And ſo they went back to Whitehall, the lord-mayor uncovered carrying the ſword before his Highneſs. When they came into the Banquetting-houſe, Mr. Lockier made an exhortation to them; and ſo the lord-mayor, aldermen and judges departed.

He is proclaimed.

Preſently after, the following proclamation, ſet forth by the council, was publiſhed in the Palace-yard, at the Old Exchange, and ſeveral other places in London; and as ſoon as could be throughout England, Scotland, and Ireland. "Whereas the late parliament, diſſolving themſelves, and reſigning their powers and authorities, the government of the common-wealth of England, Scotland and Ireland, by a Lord Protector and ſucceſſive triennial Parliaments, is now eſtabliſhed: And whereas Oliver Cromwell, captain-general of all the forces of this common-wealth, is declared Lord Protector of the ſaid nations, and hath accepted thereof: We have therefore thought it neceſſary (as we hereby do) to make publication of the premiſes, and ſtrictly to charge and command all, and every perſon and perſons, of what quality and condition ſoever, in any of the ſaid three nations, to take notice thereof, and to conform and ſubmit themſelves to the government ſo eſtabliſhed. And all ſheriffs, mayors, bailiffs, and other publick miniſters and officers, whom this may concern, are required to cauſe this proclamation to be forthwith publiſhed in their reſpective counties,

counties, cities, corporations, and market-towns; to the end none may have cauſe to pretend ignorance in this behalf." And now care was taken to alter all writs and proceſs, from the ſtile of the Keepers of the liberties of England, to that of Protector. Upon this new advancement, we are told, that Cromwell obſerved new and great ſtate, and all ceremonies and reſpects were paid to him by all ſorts of men, as to their Prince.

Thus, as has been obſerved by many, did this extraordinary man, with ſo little pains, mount himſelf into the throne of three kingdoms, without the title of King, but with more power and authority than had ever been exerciſed by any preceding King: He made the greateſt figure in Europe in his time, and received greater marks of reſpect and eſteem from all the Kings and Princes in Chriſtendom, than had ever been ſhewn to any Monarch of theſe nations; which was the more wonderful, in that they all hated him, when they trembled at his power, and courted his friendſhip.

CHAP. III.

From his being declared Protector, to the meeting of his ſecond Parliament.

CROMWELL being thus raiſed to the power of a Monarch, proceeded in the exerciſe of his government, with the greateſt vigour and induſtry. He and his council ſet forth ſeveral ordinances; among the reſt, one declaring what offences ſhould be adjudged treaſon; another for repealing thoſe acts and reſolves of parliament, which had formerly been made for ſubſcribing to the Engagement, againſt a ſingle perſon and houſe of peers; another for appointing perſons to be approvers of miniſters. At his firſt aſſuming the government, there were three great parties in the nation all againſt him, the Epiſcopal party, the Preſbyterians, and the Republicans: And it required the greateſt dexterity and ſkill to manage theſe very oppoſite factions, and to prevent the ill effects of the plots and conſpiracies they were ſo ready to run into. He had only the army to rely upon; and that enthuſiaſtic ſpirit he had taken ſo much pains to raiſe among them, rendered them very intractable; ſo that he was forced to break and impriſon many of his officers; and he flattered the reſt as well as he could, going on in his old way of long and dark diſcourſes.

His proceedings at his firſt entering upon the government.

He was apprehenſive of aſſaſſination, and other plottings from the Cavalier party; as to the former of which, he took a method that proved of great uſe to him: He would many times openly declare, "That in a war it was neceſſary to return upon any ſide, all the violent things that any of the one ſide did to the other; and this for the preventing greater miſchief, and for bringing men to fair war: And that aſſaſſinations were ſuch deteſtable

able things, that he would never begin them; but if any of the King's party ſhould endeavour to aſſaſſinate him, and fail in it, he would make an aſſaſſinating war of it, and deſtroy the whole family." And he pretended he had inſtruments to do this, whenever he ſhould order it. This ſtruck ſuch a terror, that it proved a better ſecurity to him than his guards. And whenever they were plotting againſt him, he had his agents and ſpies amongſt them, to give him notice of their preparations and proceedings; by which means all their ſchemes were broken, and their deſigns fruſtrate, before they could bring them to perfection.

The Preſbyterians ſo dreaded the fury of the common-wealth party, that they looked upon Cromwell's turning them out to be a happy deliverance for them; and to ſoften theſe the more, he aſſured them he would maintain a publick miniſtry with all due encouragement, which the Republicans were moſtly againſt; and he joined them in a commiſſion with ſome Independents to be Tryers of all publick preachers, who ſhould, for the future, be admitted to any benefice. The perſons ſo commiſſioned did likewiſe diſpoſe of all the churches that were in the gift of the crown, of the biſhops, and of the cathedral churches. Nevertheleſs, when he perceived that the Preſbyterians began to take too much upon them, to be uneaſy under the government, or meddle in civil affairs, he found means to mortify them, and let looſe againſt them thoſe of the other ſects, who took pleaſure in diſputing with their preachers, and interrupting their religious worſhip; and 'tis ſaid, he was by many heard to glory, That he had curbed that inſolent ſect, that would ſuffer none but itſelf. So that they were forced to thank him for permitting them the exerciſe of their religious worſhip in their own congregations.

The

The Republican party were his greateſt enemies, and moſt bent on his ruin, looking on him as the perſon who had perfidiouſly broken all their meaſures, and betrayed their glorious cauſe. This party therefore he ſtudied by all means to divide among themſelves, and to ſet the fifth-monarchy men, and other enthuſiaſts, againſt thoſe who proceeded only upon the principles of the civil liberty; ſuch as Algernoon Sidney, Henry Nevil, Martin, Ludlow, Wildman, and Harrington.

As to Vane and his party, who were likewiſe called Independents, they indeed, from the time they were turned out of the long parliament, retired quietly into the country, where they endeavoured to prejudice their neighbours againſt the preſent government, and yet managed themſelves with ſo much caution, as not to diſturb the quiet of the nation, nor give the Protector any great advantage againſt them.

The Levellers, many of whom had been the moſt active Agitators in the army, were the moſt furious and deſperate of all the common-wealth party. Theſe, from the time that the General aſſumed the title of Protector, which was to them as odious as that of King, profeſſed a mortal hatred to his perſon; and he knew very well that theſe men, as well as the laſt mentioned, had great credit in his army, and with ſome of the chief officers; ſo that he more really dreaded them, than all the King's party, and ſubtilly coloured many of the preparations he made againſt them, as if they were deſigned againſt the other. The fifth-monarchy men ſeemed to be in daily expectation of the coming of King Jeſus, and the Protector found it no eaſy matter to give them ſatisfaction, ſince his aſſuming the government after this manner, looked like a ſtep to kingſhip, which they repreſented as the great Antichriſt, which hindered Chriſt's being ſet on his throne. To theſe men

he would ſay with many tears, "That he would rather have taken a ſhepherd's ſtaff than the Protectorſhip, ſince nothing was more contrary to his genius, than a ſhew of greatneſs: But he ſaw it was neceſſary at that time, to keep the nation from falling into extreme diſorder, and from becoming open to the common enemy; and therefore he only ſtept in between the living and the dead, in that interval, till God ſhould direct them on what bottom they ought to ſettle; and then he would ſurrender the heavy load lying upon him with a joy equal to the ſorrow with which he was affected, while under that ſhew of dignity." He would alſo carry himſelf with great familiarity towards theſe men, and enter into the terms of their old equality, ſhutting the door, and making them ſit down covered by him, that they might ſee how little he cared for thoſe diſtances, which for form ſake he was forced to keep up with others; and their diſcourſe commonly ended in a long prayer. Thus, with much ado, he pretty well managed the Enthuſiaſts of the common-wealth party. As to the other Republicans, many of whom were inclined to Deiſm, he called them the Heathens, and acknowledged he could not ſo eaſily work upon them. He had ſome chaplains of all ſorts, and became at length more gentle towards the Epiſcopal party, who had their meetings in ſeveral places about London, without being moleſted by him. In the end, even the Roman Catholicks courted him; and he with wonderful art carried things farther with all parties than was thought poſſible, conſidering the great difficulties he had to encounter with.

That he might the better manage the ſeveral factions he ſtood moſt in awe of, he made choice of the moſt active and leading men into his council, by whoſe influence he had the guiding of all the reſt of each party. The firſt perſons nominated

ted to be of his council, purſuant to the inſtrument of government, were major-general Lambert, lieutenant-general Fleetwood, colonel Montague, (afterwards made Earl of Sandwich by King Charles II.) Philip lord viſcount Liſle (ſince Earl of Leiceſter) colonel Deſborough, Sir Gilbert Pickering, Sir Anthony Aſhley Cooper (afterwards Earl of Shaftſbury) Sir Charles Wolſley, major-general Skippon, Mr. Strickland, colonel Sydenham, colonel Jones, Mr. Rouſe, Mr. Lawrence, and Mr. Major; in all fifteen. His firſt council.

On the 21ſt of December, a proclamation was publiſhed by his Highneſs, with the advice and conſent of his council, in the following terms: "Oliver, Lord Protector of the common-wealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, conſidering, That wheras the exerciſe of the chief magiſtracy, and the adminiſtration of government, within the ſaid common-wealth is inveſted and eſtabliſhed in his Highneſs, aſſiſted with a council; and left thereupon the ſettled and ordinary courſe of juſtice in the common-wealth (if remedy were not provided) might receive interruption; his Highneſs, in care of the ſtate and publick juſtice thereof (reſerving to future conſideration the reformation and redreſs of any abuſes by miſgovernment, upon better knowledge taken thereof) is pleaſed, and doth hereby expreſsly ſignify, declare, and ordain, by and with the advice and conſent of his council (who have power, until the meeting of the next parliament, to make laws and ordinances for the peace and welfare of theſe nations, where it ſhall be neceſſary; which ſhall be binding and in force, until order ſhall be taken in parliament concerning the ſame) That all perſons, who on the tenth day of this inſtant December, were duly and lawfully poſſeſſed of any place of judicature, or office of authority, juriſdiction, or government, within this common-wealth, ſhall be, and ſhall ſo hold themſelves,

ſelves, continued in the ſaid offices and places reſpectively, as formerly they held and enjoyed the ſame, and not otherwiſe, until his Highneſs's pleaſure be farther known: And all the commiſſions, patents, and other grants, which reſpect or relate unto the doing and executing of publick juſtice, and all proceedings of what nature ſoever in courts of common-law or equity, or in the court of admirality, or by commiſſioners of ſewers, ſhall ſtand and be in the ſame and like force to all intents and purpoſes, as the ſame were on the ſaid tenth day of this inſtant December, until farther order given by his Highneſs therein: And that in the mean time (for preſervation of the publick peace, and neceſſary proceedings in matters of juſtice, and for ſafety of the ſtate) all the ſaid perſons, of whatſoever place, power, degree or condition, may not fail, every one ſeverally, according to his reſpective place, office, or charge, to proceed in the performance and execution of all duties thereunto belonging, as formerly appertaining to them, and every of them, whilſt the former government was in being. Given at Whitehall this 21ſt day of December, in the year of our Lord, 1653."

Several ordinances paſſed by him.

On the 27th, the Lord Protector and his council paſſed an ordinance, for continuing the exciſe and the commiſſioners: Another for continuing the act for redemption of captives: And a third for the alteration of ſeveral names and forms, uſed heretofore in courts, writs, grants, patents, commiſſions, &c. and ſettling proceedings in courts of law and equity. And ſhortly after, another ordinance was paſſed, appointing a committee of the army, and treaſurers at war, as formerly. Theſe and a great many other ordinances were paſſed by the Lord Protector and his council, before the meeting of the parliament. His Highneſs applied himſelf very cloſely to buſineſs, and was indefatigable in the management of the publick affairs.

All

All things ſeeming to favour the Protector and his government, both at home and abroad, he was invited by the lord mayor and aldermen, to dine at Grocers-hall on the 8th day of February being Aſh-Wedneſday. Accordingly, he rode thither in great ſtate, the ſtreets being railed on both ſides, and the rails covered with blue cloth, and the ſeveral companies in their liveries ſtanding all the way, according to their ſuperiority, with the city banner and ſtreamers of the reſpective companies ſet before them. The lord-mayor Viner, with the aldermen in ſcarlet and gold chains, rode to Temple-bar where meeting his highneſs with his train, he delivered up the ſword to him, and after a ſhort congratulatory ſpeech, they proceeded to Grocers-hall in the following manner: The city-marſhal, with ſome other officers, marched firſt; then ſix trumpets, and after them his Highneſs's life-guard; next eight trumpets more, followed by the city ſtreamers; then the aldermen, and the two ſheriffs after them; then his highneſs's heralds, with rich coats, adorned with the arms of the commonwealth. After them, the mace and cap of maintenance were carried before the lord-mayor, who carried the ſword bare-headed before his highneſs the Lord Protector, who followed with twelve footmen in grey liveries laced with ſilver, and other ornaments. After the Protector rode major-general Skippon, with the reſt of the council, and the great officers of the army. Being come to Grocers-hall, the recorder made a ſpeech to his Highneſs, declaring, "How happy that city did account themſelves under his auſpicious government, and alſo in the enjoyment of his preſence with them that day." Then he was feaſted in a moſt ſplendid and magnificent manner; and before his departure he knighted the lord-mayor with as much grace as if he had been King. At this feaſt, we are told, that when it was propoſed to ſerve him on

His magnificent entertainment in the city.

on the knee, he refuſed it with ſome diſdain, ſaying, "Such ceremonies ſhould be only practiſed at Rome, where they are ſo greedy of ceremonies, or in kingdoms governed by tyrants; but ſhould be baniſhed out of a Chriſtian and Proteſtant common-wealth, as was that of England." Within a ſhort time after his Highneſs invited the lord-mayor, aldermen and ſheriffs to dine with him at Whitehall: And it was obſerved, that in all his entertainments, audiences, &c he maintained the port of a great prince, as much as if he had been ſo born and bred; that his ſoul extended itſelf always in proportion to the room that was given it, and in whatever ſpace he ſtood, he always filled it. And now addreſſes were preſented to the Lord Protector, from all parts of the three nations, congratulating his acceſſion to the government; and ſeveral foreign miniſters came over to him acknowledging his power, courting his alliance, and giv- him his title of Highneſs.

1654. He concludes a peace with the Dutch

The Lord Protector ſoon concluded the peace with the Dutch, having brought them to accept of ſuch conditions as he thought fit to give them: Among which one was, "That that they ſhould not permit any of the king's party, or any enemy of the common-wealth of England, to reſide within their dominions; and another, which was contained in a ſecret article, to which the great ſeal of the ſtates was affixed, whereby they obliged themſelves, "Never to permit the Prince of Orange to be their Stadtholder, General or Admiral; and alſo to deliver up the iſland of Polerone in the Eaſt-Indies, which they had taken from the Engliſh in the reign of king James, into the hands of the Engliſh Eaſt-India company; and to pay three hundred thouſand pounds for the old barbarous violence exerciſed towards the Engliſh at Amboyna;" for which the two laſt kings could not obtain any ſatisfaction: "That they ſhould comply

ply with the act of navigation; and that they ſhould own the ſovereignty of the ſea to be in the common-wealth of England, and no more diſpute the flag." And thus, about the beginning of April, the whole peace was concluded between the Lord Protector and the States General, with all the advantages to himſelf he could deſire.

The Lord Protector, according to the power given him by the Inſtrument of Government, ſupplied the benches with the ableſt of the lawyers, whom he had invited to the public ſervice. Mr. Maynard, Twiſden, Nudigate, Windham, &c. were made ſerjeants at law; and Mr. Matthew Hale one of the juſtices of the common pleas, &c. Mr. John Thurloe, who had been ſecretary to the chief-juſtice St. John, when he was Ambaſſador at the Hague, was advanced to the office of ſecretary of ſtate. And to keep the other two nations in order and obedience, his Highneſs ſent general Monck back again into Scotland, and his youngeſt ſon Henry Cromwell into Ireland, whom he made lord lieutenant of that kingdom.

He is feared and courted by foreign powers.

As the Protector diſcovered a wonderful genius in the management of affairs at home, ſo his power and policy was more and more obſerved and reverenced abroad; and all nations now contended, by their ambaſſadors, which ſhould render themſelves moſt acceptable to him. Denmark had the favour of being taken into the Dutch treaty, upon the good terms of making the States reſponſible for one hundred and forty thouſand pounds, to repair the damage which the Engliſh ſuffered from the Danes. About the ſame time, by the negotiation of his ambaſſador Whitelock, he made a firm alliance with the kingdom of Sweden. He forced Portugal to ſend an Ambaſſador to beg for peace, and to ſubmit to make ſatisfaction for the offence they had committed in receiving prince Rupert, by the payment of a great ſum of money; and

and brought even the two crowns of France and Spain, to ſue for his alliance: For which purpoſe the ambaſſador of the former, Monſieur de Bordeaux, had an audience of his Highneſs in the Banquetting-houſe, Whitehall, on the 29th of March, with the ſame ſtate and ceremony as is wont to be uſed towards ſovereign princes; when he addreſſed himſelf thus to him.

"Your moſt ſerene Hiighneſs has already received ſome principal aſſurances of the King my maſter, of his deſire to eſtabliſh a perfect correſpondency betwixt his dominions and England. His Majeſty, this day gives to your Highneſs ſome publick demonſtration of the ſame; and his ſending his ambaſſador to your Highneſs, does plainly ſhew, that the eſteem which his Majeſty makes of your highneſs, and intereſt of his people, have more power in his councils than many conſiderations, that would be of great concernment to a Prince leſs affected with the one and the other. This proceeding, grounded upon ſuch principles, and ſo different from what is only guided by ambition, renders the amity of the King my maſter as conſiderable for its firmneſs as its utility; for which reaſon it is ſo eminently eſteemed and courted by all the greateſt princes and Potentates of the earth. But his Majeſty communicates none to any with ſo much joy and chearfulneſs, as to thoſe whoſe virtuous acts and extraordinary merits render them more conſpicuouſly famous, than the largeneſs of their dominions. His Majeſty is ſenſible, that all thoſe advantages do wholly reſide in your Highneſs; and that the Divine Providence, after ſo many calamities, could not deal more favourably with theſe three nations, nor cauſe them to forget their paſt miſeries with greater ſatisfaction, than by ſubmitting them to ſo juſt a government. And ſince it is not ſufficient for the compleating of their happineſs, to make them enjoy

peace

peace at home, becauſe it depends no leſs on good correſpondency with nations abroad; the King my maſter does not doubt but to find alſo the ſame diſpoſition in your Highneſs, which his Majeſty here expreſſes in his letters. After ſo many diſpoſitions expreſſed both by his Majeſty and your Highneſs, towards the accommodation of the two nations, there is reaſon to believe, that their wiſhes will be ſoon accompliſhed. As for me, I have none greater, than to be able to ſerve my maſter with the good pleaſure and ſatisfaction of your Highneſs; and that the happineſs I have to tender to your Highneſs the firſt aſſurances of his Majeſty's eſteem, may give me the occaſion, by my ſervices, to merit the honour of your gracious affection."

The Protector's zeal for the proteſtant religion appeared on ſeveral occaſions; of which I ſhall here inſert one inſtance, leaving others to ſome following periods of this hiſtory. It is that of a letter to the Prince of Tarente in France, written in Latin, (his Latin ſecretary being the immortal Milton) which is as follows:

His letter to the Prince of Tarente.

"OLIVERIUS, Protector Reip. Angliæ, Scotiæ, Hiberniæ, &c. Illuſtriſſimo Principi Tarentino, ſalutem. Perſpectus ex literis tuis ad me datis religionis amor tuus, & in eccleſias reformatas pietas eximia, ſtudiumq; ſingulare, in iſta præſertim generis nobilitate ac ſplendore, eoq; ſub regno, in quo, deficientibus ab orthodoxa fide, tot ſunt nobiliſſimis quibuſq; ſpes uberes propoſitæ, tot firmioribus incommoda ſubcunda; permagno me plane gaudio ac voluptate affecit. Nec minus gratum erat plauciſſe me tibi eo ipſo religionis nomine, quo nihil mihil dilectius atq; charius imprimis eſſe debet. Deum autem obteſtor, quam de me ſpem eccleſiarum & expectationem eſſe oſtendis, ſi poſſim ei aliquando vel ſatisfacere, ſi opus erit, vel demonſtrare omnibus, quam cupiam non deeſſe. Nullum equidem fructum laborum meorum, nul-

lum hujus, quam obtineo in republica mea, ſive dignitatis, ſive muneris, nec ampliorem exiſtimarem nec jucundiorem, quam ut idoneus ſim, qui eccleſiæ reformatæ vel amplificationi, vel incolumitati, vel, quod maximum eſt, paci ſerviam. Te vero hortor magnopere, ut religionem orthodoxam, qua pietate ac ſtudio à majoribus acceptam profiteris, eadem animi firmitate atq; conſtantia ad extremum uſque retineas. Nec ſane quidquam erit te tuiſq; parentibus religioſiſſimis dignius, nec quod pro tuis in me meritis, quanquam tua, cauſa cupio omnia, optare tibi melius aut præclarius queam, quam ſi ſic te pares atq; inſtituas, ut eccleſiæ præſertim patriæ, quarum in diſciplina tam fælici indole tamq; illuſtri loco natus es, quanto cæteris præluces, tanto firmius in te præſidium ſuis rebus conſtitutum eſſe ſentiant. Vale. Alba Aula, Die 26 Junii, 1654. Illuſtriſſimæ dignitatis veſtræ ſtudioſiſſimus,

OLIVERIUS."

Which letter is thus tranſlated:

" OLIVER, Protector of the common-wealth of England, Scotland, Ireland, &c. To the moſt illuſtrious Prince of Tarente, greeting. It was a very great pleaſure and ſatisfaction to me, to perceive by your Highneſs's letter which you ſent me, your love of religion, and your extraordinary zeal and concern for the reformed churches, eſpecially conſidering your quality, and that you live in a country where ſuch great things are promiſed to all perſons of your rank, if they forſake the orthodox faith, and ſo many diſcouragements are laid in the way of thoſe who continue ſtedfaſt. Nor was it leſs pleaſing to me, to find that your Highneſs approved of my care and concern for the ſame religion, than which nothing ought to be more dear and precious to me. And I call God

to

to witneſs, how deſirous I am, according as I have ability and opportunity, to anſwer the hope and expectation which you ſay the churches have concerning me, and to manifeſt it to all. Indeed I ſhould eſteem it the greateſt and beſt fruit of my labours, and of this dignity, or office, which I hold in this common-wealth, to be put in a capacity of being ſerviceable either to the enlargement, or the ſafety, or, which is the chief of all, the peace of the reformed church. And I earneſtly exhort your Highneſs that you would hold faſt to the end the orthodox religion you have received from your fathers, with a firmneſs and conſtancy of mind equal to the piety and zeal you diſcover in the profeſſion of it. Nor indeed can there be any any thing more worthy of yourſelf and of your moſt pious parents; and, though I could deſire all things for your ſake, yet I can wiſh you nothing better, nothing more excellent, in return for the civilities you have ſhewn me, than that you ſo conduct yourſelf, that the churches, eſpecially thoſe of your own country, in whoſe diſcipline you were born with ſo happy a diſpoſition, and of ſuch a noble family, may find in you a protection anſwerable to the high ſtation in which you are placed above others. Farewell. Whitehall, June 26, 1654. Your Highneſs's moſt affectionate and moſt devoted,

OLIVER."

The Lord Protector had reſolved more firmly to unite the three nations into one common-wealth. Accordingly, with conſent of his council, he made an ordinance, April the 12th, declaring, "How he had taken into conſideration, that the people of Scotland ought to be united with the people of England, into one common-wealth, and under one government; and had found, that in December 1651, the parliament then ſitting had ſent commiſſioners

He makes an union of the three nations.

miſſioners into Scotland, to invite the people of that nation unto ſuch a happy union; who proceeded ſo far therein, that the ſhires and boroughs did accept of the ſaid union, and aſſent thereunto: For the compleating and perfecting which union, he now ordained, That all the people of Scotland, and of all the dominions and territories thereunto belonging, ſhould be incorporated into one common-wealth with England; and in every parliament to be held ſucceſſively for the ſaid common-wealth, thirty perſons ſhould be called from, and ſerve for Scotland, &c." And ſhortly after another ordinance was made for a like diſtribution of thirty members from Ireland to ſerve in the parliament at Weſtminſter. About the ſame time an ordinance was publiſhed, prohibiting the planting of Tobacco in England; which is a law at this day.

A conſpiracy for which Gerard and Vowel are executed

About this time ſeveral perſons were apprehended, and charged with a conſpiracy to murder the Lord Protector as he ſhould be going to Hampton-court, to ſeize the guards, the Tower of London, and the magazines, and to proclaim the King. The chief of theſe were Mr. Somerſet Fox, Mr. John Gerard, and Mr. Vowel; who being tried by a high court of juſtice, and condemned, Fox, who confeſſed much of what was alledged againſt him, had the benefit of a reprieve; but Gerard was beheaded on Tower-hill, and Vowel hanged at Charing-croſs; both of them denying what they were accuſed of, and dying with great magnanimity and reſolution.

The Portugal ambaſſador's brother commits a riot.

On the ſame day, there was another execution of an extraordinary nature: Don Pantaleon Sa, the Portugal ambaſſador's brother, a knight of Malta, and a perſon eminent in many great actions, who out of curioſity to ſee England, came over with the ambaſſador, happened to have a quarrel in the New-Exchange with the forementioned Mr. Gerard; to revenge which, he went thither the next

next day, with ſervants armed with ſwords and piſtols; where they killed another man, whom they took to be Mr. Gerard, and hurt and wounded ſeveral others. Upon this there was raiſed a great tumult, and the Portugueſe flying to the ambaſſador's houſe, the people came flocking thither from all parts to ſeize the murderers. Cromwell being informed of the matter, ſent an officer, with a party of ſoldiers, to demand and apprehend them; who more eſpecially demanded of the ambaſſador the perſon of his brother, threatening, if he was not delivered up, to break open the houſe, and take him out by force. The ambaſſador inſiſted upon the privilege due to his houſe by law of nations, and deſired time to ſend to the Protector, to whom he made complaint of the violence done to him, and requeſted an audience. His Highneſs ſent him word, "That a gentleman had been murdered, and others wounded, and that Juſtice muſt be ſatisfied; requiring, that all perſons concerned might be delivered up to his officer; without which, if he ſhould withdraw his ſoldiers, the people would execute juſtice, by a way for which he would not be anſwerable: But this being done, he ſhould have an audience, and all the ſatisfaction it was in his power to give." The ambaſſador finding it in vain to contend, and the multitude encreaſing their cry, That they would pull down the houſe, he was, to his great grief, forced to deliver up his brother with the reſt, who were all ſent priſoners to Newgate. The ambaſſador was moſt earneſt in his ſollicitations for his brother, being willing the others ſhould be left to the law; but all the anſwer he could have, was, That juſtice muſt be done. And juſtice was done to the utmoſt; for being all tried by a jury of half Engliſh and half foreigners, as many as were found guilty, and among them the ambaſſador's brother, were condemned to die. All were hanged at Tyburn, ſays the lord Clarendon;

He is condemned and executed.

don; Whitelock says they were all reprieved, except Don Pantaleon, who, immediately after the execution of Gerard, was conveyed from Newgate to Tower-hill, in a mourning coach and six horses, attended by several of his brother's retinue; and there, on the same scaffold, lost his head, with as much terror and dejection of spirit, as Gerard had done with courage and resolution. This mightily raised the opinion of the Protector's justice, as well as of his power. And 'tis very remarkable, that on the very day of this execution, the Portugal ambassador was obliged to sign the articles of peace between the two nations; whereupon he immediately went out of town.

And here Dr. Welwood remarks, "That whatever reason the house of Austria had to hate the memory of Cromwell, yet his causing the Portugal ambassador's brother to be executed, notwithstanding his plea of being a publick minister as well as his brother, was, near twenty years after Cromwell's death, brought as a precedent by the Emperor, to justify his arresting and carrying off the Prince of Furstenburgh at the treaty of Cologne, notwithstanding his being a plenipotentiary for the Elector of that name. And in the printed manifesto, published by the Emperor on that occasion, this piece of Cromwell's justice is related at large."

The Lord Protector knowing, that tho' he had obtained the government, it was not confirmed to him by the people, resolved, in pursuance of the instrument of government, to summon a parliament to meet at Westminster on the 3d of September; and accordingly ordered writs to be issued out for the election of members to serve in parliament, after the manner laid down in the said Instrument. It was his greatest care how to manage this assembly, so that they might proceed according to his own desires; but tho' he had great influence upon the people, and a great awe upon the sheriffs

ſheriffs and magiſtrates, and brought the trial of elections into a committee of his own council, before the opening of the parliament, yet it proved not for his purpoſe; as we ſhall ſee in the following chapter.

CHAP. IV.

His Second Parliament.

ON the 3d day of September, tho' it happened to be Sunday, the Lord Protector, who reckoned that his fortunate day, would have the parliament opened: And ſo the members, after hearing a ſermon at Weſtminſter abbey, attended his Highneſs in the Painted Chamber; where he made a ſpeech to them, ſhewing the cauſe of their ſummons; after which, they went to their houſe, and adjourned to the next day. The Protector then rode in ſtate from Whitehall to Weſtminſter-abbey, ſome hundreds of gentlemen and officers going before uncovered, and next before the coach, his pages and lacqueys richly cloathed: On the one ſide of his coach, went Strickland, one of his council, and captain of his guards, with the maſter of the ceremonies, both on foot; and on the other ſide of it, walked colonel Howard (afterwards Earl of Carliſle) another captain of the guards. His ſon Henry and Lambert ſat with him in the coach, bare-headed. After the coach came Claypole, maſter of the horſe, with a gallant led horſe, adorned with the richeſt trappings; and next after him the commiſſioners of the great ſeal, and of the treaſury, and divers of the council in coaches, and the ordinary guards. Being come to the abbey door, his Highneſs alighted; and the officers of the army and the gentlemen went firſt, next them four maces, then the commiſſioners of

of the ſeal, Whitelock carrying the purſe, and Lambert the ſword before him. His Highneſs was ſeated over-againſt the pulpit, and the members of parliament placed themſelves on both ſides of him. After the ſermon, which was preached by Mr. Thos. Goodwin, his Highneſs went in the ſame equipage to the Painted Chamber; where being ſeated in a chair of ſtate ſet upon ſteps, the members ſitting upon benches round about, all bare, his Highneſs put off his hat, and made a long and ſubtle ſpeech to them, which was in ſubſtance as follows.

He told them "the Danger of the Levelling Pinciples, and of the Fifth-monarchy opinions, of the form of godlineſs, and the great judgment that had been upon this nation by ten years civil war. That the two pretenſions, liberty of the ſubject, and liberty of conſcience (two as glorious things, and as much to be contended for, as any gift God hath given us) were brought in to patronize thoſe evils. Nay, theſe abominations ſwelled to that height, that the ax was laid to the root of the miniſtry, as Babyloniſh and Antichriſtian: And as the extremity was great before, ſo that no man, tho' well approved, and having a good teſtimony, might preach, if not ordained; ſo now, on the other hand, they will have ordination put a nullity upon the calling.

"I conceive in my very ſoul, ſaid he, that many of the Fifth-monarchy opinion have good meanings; and I hope this parliament will (as Jude ſays, reckoning up the abominable apoſtacies of the laſt times) pluck ſome out of the fire, and ſave others with fear; making thoſe of peaceable ſpirits, the ſubject of encouragement, and ſaving others by that diſcipline that God hath ordained to reform miſcarriages: The danger of that ſpirit being not in the notion but in its proceeding to a civil tranſgreſſion; when men come into ſuch a practice,

practice, as to us, that liberty and property are not the bodies of that kingdom, and that inſtead of regulating laws, laws muſt be ſubverted, and perhaps the judicial law impoſed, or ſome fancy inſtead of it (for that was good and honourable in the inſtitution, tho' now by ſome miſapplied;) eſpecially when every ſtone is turned to bring in confuſion; this will be a conſideration worthy of the magiſtrate.

" Whilſt theſe things were in the midſt of us, and the nation rent and torn from one end to the other; family againſt family, parent againſt child, and nothing in the hearts and minds of men, but Overturn, Overturn, (a ſcripture very much abuſed and challenged by all men of diſcontented ſpirits;) that common enemy in the mean time ſleeps not; ſwarms of Jeſuits come over, and have their conſiſtories abroad, to rule all the affairs of England, and the dependencies thereof: In the mean time viſible endeavours were uſed to hinder the work in Ireland, to obſtruct the work in Scotland; correſpondencies and intelligences were held to encourage the war in thoſe places.

" And withal, we were deeply engaged in a war with Portugal, whereby our trade ceaſed; and not only ſo, but a war with Holland, which conſumed our treaſure, as much as the aſſeſſment came to. At the ſame time we fell into a war with France, or rather we were in it; and all this fomented by the diviſions amongſt us, which begat a confidence, we could not hold out long; and the calculation had not been ill, if the Lord had not been gracious to us. Beſides, ſtrangers increaſed in the manufacture, the great ſtaple commodity of this nation.

" In ſuch an heap of confuſion was this poor nation; and that it might not ſink into a confuſion from the premiſes, a remedy muſt be applied: A remedy hath been applied, This government. A

thing that is ſeen and read of all, and which (let men ſay what they will, I can ſpeak with comfort before a greater than you all, as to my intention; and let men judge out of the thing itſelf) is calculated for the intereſt of the people, for their intereſt alone, and for their good, without reſpect had to any other intereſt.

" I may, with humbleneſs towards God, and modeſty before you, ſay ſomething in the behalf of it.

" It hath endeavoured to reform the laws, and for that end hath joined perſons (without reflection upon any) of as great integrity and ability as any other, to conſider how the laws might be made plain, ſhort and eaſy; which may in due time be tendered.

" It hath taken care to put into ſeats of juſtice, men of the moſt known integrity and ability.

" The Chancery hath been reformed, and I hope to the juſt ſatisfaction of all good men.

" It hath put a ſtop to that heady way, for every man that will, to make himſelf a preacher, having endeavoured to ſettle a way for approbation of men of piety and fitneſs for the work, and the buſineſs committed to perſons both of the Preſbyterian and Independent judgment; men of as known ability and integrity, as (I ſuppoſe) any the nation hath, and who (I believe) have laboured to approve themſelves to God and their own conſciences, in approving men to that great function.

" It hath taken care to expunge men unfit for that work, who have been the common ſcorn and reproach to that adminiſtration.

" One thing more: It hath been inſtrumental to call a free parliament; bleſſed be God, we ſee here this day a free parliament; and that it may continue ſo, I hope is in the heart of every good man of England: For my own part, as I deſired

it

it above my life, ſo to keep it free, I ſhall value it above my life.

" A peace is made with Sweden, (wherein an honourable perſon [meaning Whitelock] was inſtrumental) it being of much importance to have a good underſtanding with our Proteſtant neighbours.

" The Sound is open to us, from whence, as from a fountain, our naval proviſions are ſupplied.

" A peace is made with the Dutch, which is ſo well known in the conſequences of it, and the great advantages of a good underſtanding with Proteſtant ſtates.

" I beg that it may be in your hearts to be zealous of the Proteſtant intereſt abroad, which if ever it be like to come under a condition of ſuffering, it is now; many being baniſhed, and driven to ſeek refuge among ſtrangers.

" A peace is made with Portugal, (tho' it hung long) of great concernment to trade; and the people that trade thither, have freedom to enjoy their conſciences, without being ſubjected to the bloody inquiſition.

" A treaty with France likewiſe is now depending.

" It may be neceſſary, in the next place, for you to hear a little of the ſea affairs, and to take notice of the great expence of the forces and fleet; and yet 30000 l. is now abated of the next three months aſſeſſment.

" Theſe things, which I have before-mentioned, are but entrances, and doors of hope; you are brought to the edge of Canaan (into which many that have gone before could not enter) but if the bleſſing and preſence of God go along with you in the management of your affairs, I make no queſtion but he will enable you to lay the top-ſtone of this work.

" But this is a maxim not to be deſpiſed, 'Tho' peace be made, yet it is intereſt that keeps peace, and farther than that, peace is not to be truſted.'

" The great end of calling this parliament, is, that the work of God may go on, that the ſhip of this Common-wealth may be brought into a ſafe harbour.

" I ſhall put you in mind, that you have a great work upon you; Ireland to look to, that the beginning of that government may be ſettled in honour.

" That you have before you, the conſideration of thoſe foreign ſtates, with whom peace is not made; who, if they ſee we manage not our affairs with prudence, as becomes men, will retain hopes that we may ſtill, under the diſadvantages thereof, break into confuſion.

" I ſhall conclude with my perſuaſion to you, to have a ſweet, gracious, and holy underſtanding one of another, and put you in mind of the counſel you heard this day in order thereunto.

" And I deſire you to believe, that I ſpeak not to you, as one that would be Lord over you, but as one that is reſolved to be a fellow ſervant with you to the intereſt of this great affair."

Then he wiſhed them to repair to their houſe, and exerciſe their own liberty in the choice of their ſpeaker.

Being come to the parliament houſe, they almoſt unanimouſly made choice of the old ſpeaker Mr. William Lenthal, maſter of the Rolls, to be their ſpeaker. This done, they preſently took the Protector's Inſtrument of Government into conſideration; and the firſt debate they fell upon, was, " Whether the ſupreme legiſlative power of the nation ſhould be in a ſingle perſon, and parliament." And here many warm ſpeeches were made in direct oppoſition to a ſingle perſon; and one

ſaid,

ſaid, "That they could not but diſcern the ſnares laid to entrap the people's privileges; and for his own part, as God had made him inſtrumental in cutting down tyranny in one perſon, ſo he could not endure to ſee the nation's liberties ſhackled by another, whoſe right to the government could be meaſured out no other ways than by the length of his ſword, which was only that which emboldened him to command his commanders." Theſe debates continued for ſeven or eight days together, to the great grief of the Protectorians, who to ſave themſelves were neceſſiated to find means for protracting time, and adjourning the houſe, when the queſtion was ready to be put, becauſe they plainly ſaw it would be carried in the negative.

His Highneſs being informed of theſe proceedings, and fearing to have that great queſtion put, leſt he ſhould be depoſed by a vote of this aſſembly, on the 12th of September, early in the morning, cauſed a guard to be placed at the door of the houſe, and ſent to the Lord Mayor to acquaint him with the reaſons of what he was about to do, that he might prevent any diſorder in the city. The members coming at the uſual hour, were denied entrance, and commanded to attend the Lord Protector in the Painted Chamber; where he ſpoke to them as follows:

He told them, "That when he met them a few days ſince, and delivered his mind unto them, he did it with much more hopes and comfort than now; and that he was very ſorry to find them falling into heats and diviſions. He repreſented to them the miſcarriages of the long parliament, and declared, That he had often preſſed that aſſembly, as a member, to put a period to themſelves, telling them, That the nation loath'd their ſitting; and when they were diſſolved, there was no viſible repining at it, no not ſo much as the barking of a dog.

dog. He ſhewed them by what means he came to the government, together with the conſent that the people had many ways given thereunto; and ſaid, that the other day when he told them they were a free parliament, he did alſo conſider there was a Reciprocation: For that the ſame government which made them a parliament, made him Protector; and as they were entruſted with ſome things, ſo he was with others. That there were ſome things in the government fundamental, which could not be altered; as, 1. That the government ſhould be in one perſon and a parliament. 2. That parliaments ſhould not be perpetual; which would deprive the people of their ſucceſſive elections: Nor that the parliament ſhould be always ſitting; that is, as ſoon as one parliament is up, another ſhould come and ſit in their places the very next day; which could not be, without ſubjecting the nation to an arbitrary power in governing, becauſe parliaments, when they ſit, are abſolute and unlimited. The third fundamental was in the matter of the militia. For in order to prevent the two aforementioned inconveniences, the militia was not to be entruſted in any one hand or power, but to be ſo diſpoſed, that as the parliament ought to have a check upon the Protector, to prevent exceſſes in him; ſo on the other hand, the Protector might have a check upon the parliament, to prevent exceſſes in them; becauſe if the militia were wholly in the parliament, they might, when they would, perpetuate themſelves: But now the militia being diſpoſed as it is, the one ſtands as a counterpoize to the other; which renders the balance of government the more even, and the government itſelf the more firm and ſtable. The fourth fundamental in the government, was about a due liberty of conſcience in matters of religion; wherein bounds and limits ought to be ſet, ſo as to prevent perſecution.

cution. That the reſt of the things in the government were examined, and alterable, as the occaſion and the ſtate of affairs ſhould require. That as for a negative voice, he claimed it not, ſave only in the aforeſaid particulars. That in all other things he had only a deliberate power; and if he did not paſs ſuch laws as were preſented to him, within twenty days after their preſentment, they were to be laws without his conſent. Therefore, things being thus, he was ſorry to underſtand that any of them ſhould go about to overthrow what was ſo ſettled, contrary to their truſt received from the people; which could not but bring on very great inconveniences: To prevent which, he was neceſſitated to appoint a Teſt, or Recognition, of the government, which was to be ſigned by them, before they went any more into the houſe."

The ſaid Teſt or Recognition was in theſe words: "I *A. B.* do hereby freely promiſe and engage to be true and faithful to the Lord Protector and the common-wealth of England, Scotland and Ireland; and ſhall not (according to the tenour of the indenture, whereby I am returned to ſerve in this preſent parliament) propoſe, or give any conſent to alter the government, as it is ſettled in one ſingle perſon and a parliament."

This being ingroſſed in parchment, was laid on a table near the door of the houſe, for the members to ſubſcribe before they ſhould be qualified to ſit. Accordingly, within a day or two, it was ſigned by about a hundred and thirty of them, and ſome days after by as many more, who thereupon took their places in the houſe. 'Tis ſaid, that thoſe who refuſed to ſubſcribe this engagement, were not only excluded, but ſome of them taken into cuſtody. Major-general Harriſon, the Protector's late great favourite, was now ſecured by a party of horſe, by his Highneſs's order; and col. Rich,

Rich, Mr. Carew and others, being ſummoned before the council, were required to ſurrender their commiſſions; and becauſe they refuſed to engage not to act againſt the Lord Protector and his government, they were committed to priſon.

A debate arifing in the houſe, concerning the Recognition, it was thereupon declared, "That it ſhould not be intended to comprehend the whole contained in the forty-two articles of the inſtrument of government, but only that which required the government of the common-wealth to be by a ſingle perſon, and ſucceſſive parliaments." The great point concerning the ſingle perſon, being over-ruled, the houſe applied to the conſideration and debate of the remaining clauſes of the inſtrument of government. They declared, "That Oliver Cromwell ſhould be Protector during life; and limited the number of forces to be kept up in England, Scotland, and Ireland, with proviſion for the payment of them. They agreed upon the number of ſhips that they thought neceſſary for the guard of the ſeas; and ordered two hundred thouſand pounds a year for the Protector's own expence, the ſalaries of his council, the judges, foreign intelligence, and the reception of ambaſſadors; and that Whitehall, St. James's, the Mews, Somerſet-houſe, Greenwich, Hampton-Court, Windſor, and the manor of York, be kept unſold for the Protector's uſe. They alſo voted a clauſe to be inſerted, to declare the rights of the people of England, and particularly, that no money ſhould be raiſed upon the nation but by authority of parliament. And whereas by the inſtrument of government it was provided, that if the parliament were not ſitting at the death of the preſent Protector, the council ſhould chuſe a ſucceſſor; they reſolved, that nothing ſhould be determined by the council after his death, but the calling of a parliament,

who

who were then to conſider what they would have done. They alſo approved and confirmed the preſent Lord Deputy of Ireland, the preſent Lords Commiſſioners of the great Seal of England, the commiſſioners of the treaſury, and the two chief juſtices. Among other things, they debated the point of liberty of conſcience upon the new government, and agreed to allow it to all, who ſhall not maintain Atheiſm, Popery, Prelacy, Profaneneſs, or any damnable Hereſies, to be enumerated by the parliament."

This highly pleaſed ſome men; and it is obſervable, that during theſe debates, the miniſters were ſo forward and zealous, that they propoſed ſeveral fundamentals in religion (viz. their own beloved opinions) to the parliament to be eſtabliſhed by them. Theſe debates upon the government continued for ſome months, in which time alſo the houſe took a tranſient view of the Protector's own ordinances; particularly, one for paying the money into the treaſury, raiſed for the propagation of the goſpel in Wales: Another, to make ſoldiers free in corporations: Another, to remove all ſcandalous preachers and miniſters; and a fourth for the ſurveying of King's and churches lands. And having gone through the inſtrument of government, they paſſed this additional vote, 'That no one clauſe of what they had agreed upon ſhould be looked upon as binding, unleſs the whole were conſented to.'

A private accident to the Protector.

During theſe debates in parliament, an odd accident happened to the Protector, which very much endangered his life. He having taken upon himſelf the whole government of the nation, and ſent ambaſſadors and agents to foreign kingdoms and ſtates, was again very much courted by them, and preſented with the rarities of ſeveral countries; and the Duke of Holſtein among a great many others made him a preſent of a gallant ſet of grey Frieze-

land coach-horſes. With theſe he had a mind to take the air in the Park, attended only with his ſecretary Thurloe, and his guards. Being come into the Park, he would needs take the place of the coachman; and ſo mounting the box, he began to laſh and drive them on very furiouſly: But the horſes, not uſed to ſuch rough management, ran away with full ſpeed, and never ſtopped till their driver was thrown with great violence out of the box; with which fall his piſtol fired in his pocket, though he had the good fortune to receive no hurt.

He is diſpleaſed with his parliament and diſſolves them.

In the debates upon the government, many things were ſaid, which gave great offence to the Protector and his council, and made it plainly appear, that the parliament were not inclinable to anſwer their whole deſire and expectation, and fall in with all they deſigned: Hereupon he grew very uneaſy, till the five months allowed for their ſitting, by his own inſtrument of government, ſhould be expired. And though the form of government which they had agreed to, differed not in any material point from that which himſelf had ſet up, unleſs it were in reſerving the nomination of his ſucceſſor to the parliament; yet this one thing was thought very diſagreeable to him, and ſome of his council. However, the diſſolution of this aſſembly was, after much debate in council, reſolved on; and ſo the five months of their ſeſſion, according to the ſoldiers account of twenty-eight days to the month, were no ſooner ended, but the members on the 22d of January were required to attend him in the Painted-Chamber, where he diſſolved them with this moſt tedious and intricate ſpeech.

"Gentlemen, I perceive you are here as the houſe of parliament, by your ſpeaker, whom I ſee here, and by your faces, which are, in a great meaſure, known to me.

When

" When I first met you in this room, it was to to my apprehension the hopefulest day that ever mine eyes saw, as to the considerations of this world: For I did look at (as wrapt up in you, together with my self) the hopes and the happiness of (tho' not of the greatest, yet a very great, and) the best people in the world; and truly and unfeignedly I thought so; as a people that have the highest and clearest profession amongst them of the greatest glory (to wit) religion; as a people that have been like other nations, sometimes up and sometimes down, in our honour in the world, and yet never so low, but we might measure with other nations; and a people that have had a stamp upon them from God, God having (as it were) summed all our former glory and honour, in the things that are of glory to nations, in an Epitome, within these ten or twelve years last past; so that we knew one another at home, and are well known abroad.

" And (if I be not very much mistaken) we were arrived (as I, and truly, as I believe, many others did think) at a very safe port, where we might sit down, and contemplate the dispensations of God, and our mercies not to have been like to those of the ancients who did make out their peace and prosperity, as they thought, by their own endeavours; who could not say, as we, that all ours were let down to us from God himself, whose appearances and providences amongst us are not to be out-matched in any story.

" Truly this was our condition, and I know nothing else we had to do, save as Israel was commanded, in that most excellent Psalm of David, Psalm lxxviii. ver. 4, 5, 6, 7. 'The things which we have heard and known, and our fathers have told us, we will not hide them from their children, shewing to the generation to come the praise of the Lord, and his strength, and his wonderful works

works which he hath done; for he eſtabliſhed a teſtimony in Jacob, and appointed a law in Iſrael, which he commanded our fathers that they ſhould make them known to their children, that the generation to come might know them, even the children that ſhould be born, who ſhould ariſe and declare them to their children, that they might ſet their hope in God, and not forget the works of God, but keep his commandments.'

" This, I thought, had been a ſong and a work worthy of England, whereunto you might have happily invited them, had you had hearts unto it.

" You had this opportunity fairly delivered unto you; and if a hiſtory ſhall be written of theſe times, and of tranſactions, it will be ſaid (it will not be denied) but that theſe things I have ſpoken are true.

" This Talent was put into your hands, and I ſhall recur to that which I ſaid at the firſt: I came with very great joy, and contentment, and comfort, the firſt time I met you in this place; but we and theſe nations are, for the preſent, under ſome diſappointment. If I had purpoſed to have played the orator, which I did never affect, nor do, nor I hope ſhall, I doubt not but upon eaſy ſuppoſitions, which I am perſuaded every one of you will grant, we did meet upon ſuch hopes as theſe.

" I met you a ſecond time here, and I confeſs at that meeting I had much abatement of my hopes, tho' not a total fruſtration. I confeſs, that that which dampt my hopes ſo ſoon, was ſomewhat that did look like a parricide. It is obvious enough unto you, that the management of affairs did ſavour of a not-owning, too too much ſavour, I ſay, of a not-owning the authority that called you hither; but God left us not without an expedient, that gave a ſecond poſſibility. Shall I ſay a poſſibility? It ſeemed to me a probability of recovering out of that diſſatisfied condition, we

were

were all then in, towards ſome mutuality of ſatiſfaction; and therefore by that recognition ſuiting with the indenture that returned you hither, to which afterwards alſo was added your own declaration, conformable to, and in acceptance of that expedient; whereby you had (tho' with a little check) another opportunity renewed unto you, to have made this nation as happy, as it could have been, if every thing had ſmoothly run on from the firſt hour of your meeting.

"And indeed (you will give me liberty of my thoughts and hopes) I did think, as I have formerly found in that way that I have been engaged as a ſoldier, that ſome affronts put upon us, ſome diſaſters at the firſt have made way for very great and happy ſucceſſes.

"And I did not at all deſpond, but the ſtop put upon you, would in like manner have made way for a bleſſing from God, that that Interruption being, as I thought, neceſſary to divert you from deſtructive and violent proceedings, to give time for better deliberations; whereby leaving the government as you found it, you might have proceeded to have made thoſe good and wholeſome laws which the people expected from you; and might have anſwered the grievances and ſettled thoſe other things proper to you as a parliament, and for which you would have had thanks from all that intruſted you.

"What hath happened ſince that time, I have not taken public notice of, as declining to intrench upon parliament privileges; for ſure I am, you will all bear me witneſs that from your entering into the houſe upon the Recognition, to this very day, you have had no manner of interruption or hindrance of mine, in proceeding to that bleſſed iſſue the heart of a good man could propoſe to himſelf, to this very day.

"You

" You ſee you have me very much locked up, as to what you tranſacted among yourſelves, from that time to this; but ſomething I ſhall take liberty to ſpeak of to you. As I may not take notice what you have been doing, ſo I think I have very great liberty to tell you that I do not know what you have been doing: I do not know whether you have been alive or dead: I have not once heard from you in all this time; I have not, and that you all know: If that be a fault that I have not, ſurely it hath not been mine.

" If I have had any melancholy thoughts, and have ſat down by them, why might it not have been very lawful to me, to think that I was a perſon judged unconcerned in all theſe buſineſſes? I can aſſure you, I have not reckoned myſelf, nor nor did I reckon myſelf unconcerned in you; and ſo long as any juſt patience could ſupport my expectation, I would have waited to the uttermoſt to have received from you the iſſues of your conſultations and reſolutions; I have been careful of your ſafety, and the ſafety of thoſe that you repreſented, to whom I reckon myſelf a ſervant.

" But what meſſages have I diſturbed you withal? What injury or indignity hath been done or offered, either to your perſons, or to any priviledges of parliament, ſince you ſat? I look at myſelf as ſtrictly obliged by my oath, ſince your recognizing the government, in the authority of which you were called hither, and ſat, to give you all poſſible ſecurity, and to keep you from any unparliamentary interruption.

" Think you I could not ſay more upon this ſubject, if I liſted to expatiate thereupon? But becauſe my actions plead for me, I ſhall ſay no more of this.

" I ſay, I have been caring for you, your quiet ſitting, caring for your privileges (as I ſaid before) that they might not be interrupted; have been ſeeking

ſeeking of God, from the great God, a bleſſing upon you, and a bleſſing upon theſe nations; I have been conſulting, if poſſibly I might in any thing promote, in my place, the real good of this parliament, of the hopefulneſs of which I have ſaid ſo much unto you.

"And I did think it to be my buſineſs, rather to ſee the utmoſt iſſue, and what God would produce by you, than unſeaſonably to intermeddle with you. But, as I ſaid before, I have been caring for you, and for the peace and quiet of the nations, indeed I have, and that I ſhall a little preſently manifeſt unto you.

"And it leadeth me to let you know ſomewhat that I fear, I fear will be thro' ſome interpretation, a little too juſtly put upon you, whilſt you have been employed as you have been (and in all that time expreſſed in the government, in that government, I ſay, in that government) brought forth nothing that you yourſelves can be taken notice of without infringement of your privileges.

"I will tell you ſomewhat, that (if it be not news to you) I wiſh you had taken very ſerious conſideration of; if it be news, I wiſh I had acquainted you with it ſooner; and yet if any man will aſk me why I did it not, the reaſon is given already, becauſe I did make it my buſineſs to give no interruption.

"There be ſome trees that will not grow under the ſhadow of other trees; there be ſome that chuſe (a man may ſay ſo by way of alluſion) to thrive under the ſhadow of other trees; I will tell you what hath thriven, I will not ſay what you have cheriſhed under your ſhadow, that were too hard. Inſtead of the peace and ſettlement, inſtead of mercy and truth being brought together, righteouſneſs and peace kiſſing each other, by reconciling the honeſt people of theſe nations, and feuling the woful diſtempers that are amongſt us,

(which

(which had been glorious things, and worthy of Chriſtians to have propoſed) weeds and nettles, briars and thorns have thriven under your ſhadow. Diſſettlement and diviſions, diſcontentment and diſſatisfaction, together with real dangers to the whole, has been more multiplied within theſe five months of your ſitting, than in ſome years before.

"Foundations have been alſo laid for the future renewing the troubles of theſe nations, by all the enemies of it abroad and at home; let not theſe words ſeem too ſharp, for they are true, as any mathematical demonſtrations are or can be; I ſay, the enemies of the peace of theſe nations abroad and at home, the diſcontented humours throughout theſe nations, which I think no man will grudge to call by that name, or to make to allude to briars and thorns, they have nouriſhed themſelves under your ſhadow.

"And that I may be clearly underſtood, they have taken the opportunities from your ſitting, from the hopes they had, which with eaſy conjecture they might take up, and conclude, that there would be no ſettlement, and therefore they have framed their deſigns, preparing for the execution of them accordingly.

"Now whether (which appertains not to me to judge of on their behalf) they had any occaſion miniſtered for this, and from whence they had it, I liſt not to make any ſcrutiny or ſearch; but I will ſay this, I think they had them not from me, I am ſure they had not; from whence they had it, is not my buſineſs now to diſcourſe, but that they had, is obvious to every man's ſenſe.

"What preparations they have made to execute in ſuch a ſeaſon as they thought fit to take their opportunity from, that I know (not as men know things by conjecture, but) by certain demonſtrable knowledge, that they have been (for ſome time paſt) furniſhing themſelves with arms, nothing doubting

doubting but that they ſhould have a day for it, and verily believing that whatſoever their former diſappointments were, they ſhould have more done for them, by and from our own diviſions, than they were able to do for themſelves. I do not, and I deſire to be underſtood ſo, that in all I have to ſay on this ſubject, you will take it that I have no reſervation in my mind to mingle things of gueſs and ſuſpicion with things of fact, but the things I am telling are fact, things of evident demonſtration.

"These weeds, briars and thorns, they have been preparing, and have brought their deſigns to ſome maturity, by the advantages given to them, as aforeſaid, from your ſitting and proceedings; but by the waking eye that watched over that cauſe that God will bleſs, they have been and yet are diſappointed. And having mentioned that cauſe, I ſay, that ſlighted cauſe, let me ſpeak a few words in behalf thereof (tho' it may ſeem too long a digreſſion:) Whoſoever deſpiſeth it, and will ſay it is Non cauſa pro cauſa, the all-ſearching eye before mentioned will find out that man, and will judge him, as one that regardeth not the works of God, nor the operations of his hands, for which God hath threatned that he will caſt men down, and not build them up; that becauſe he can diſpute and tell us, He knew not where the cauſe begun, or where it is, but modelleth it according to his own intellect, and ſubmits not to the appearances of God in the world; therefore he lifts up his heel againſt God, and mocketh at all his providences, laughing at the obſervations made up not without reaſon and the ſcriptures, but by the quickening and teaching ſpirit, which gives life to the other, calling ſuch obſervations enthuſiams. Such men, I ſay, no wonder if they ſtumble and fall backward, and be broken, and ſnared, and taken, by the things of which they are ſo maliciouſly and wilfully ignorant. The ſcriptures ſay;

The rod hath a voice, and he will make himſelf known, and he will make himſelf known by the judgments which he executeth; and do we not think he will, and does by the providences of mercy and kindneſs which he hath for his people, and for their juſt liberties, 'whom he loves as the apple of his eye?' Doth he not by them manifeſt himſelf? And is he not thereby alſo ſeen, giving kingdoms for them, giving men for them, and people for their lives? as it is in the 43d of Iſaiah. Is not this as fair a lecture, and as clear ſpeaking, as any thing our dark reaſon, left to the letter of the ſcriptures, can collect from them. By this voice has God ſpoken very loud on the behalf of his people, by judging their enemies in the late war, and reſtoring them a liberty to worſhip with the freedom of their conſciences, and freedom in their eſtates and perſons, when they do ſo. And thus we have found the cauſe of God by the works of God, which are the teſtimony of God, upon which rock whoſoever ſplits, ſhall ſuffer ſhipwreck.

"But it is our glory, and it is mine, if I have any in the world, concerning the intereſt of thoſe that have an intereſt in a better world: It is my glory, that I know a cauſe, which yet we have not loſt, but do hope we ſhall take a little pleaſure rather to loſe our lives than loſe. But you will excuſe this long digreſſion.

"I ſay unto you, whilſt you have been in the midſt of theſe tranſactions, that party, that cavalier party (I could wiſh ſome of them had thruſt in here to have heard what I ſay) the cavalier party have been deſigning and preparing to put this nation in blood again with a witneſs; but becauſe I am confident there are none of that ſort here, therefore I ſhall ſay the leſs to that; only this I muſt tell you, they have been making great preparations of arms, and I do believe, will be made evident

evident to you, that they have raked out many thouſands of arms, even all that this city could afford, for divers months laſt paſt.

"But it will be ſaid, May we not arm ourſelves for the defence of our houſes? Will any body find fault for that? No, for that, the reaſon of their doing ſo hath been as explicit, and under as clear proof, as the fact of doing ſo, for which, I hope, by the juſtice of the land, ſome will, in the face of the nation, anſwer it with their lives, and then the buſineſs will be pretty well out of doubt.

"Banks of money have been framing for theſe, and other ſuch like uſes; letters have been iſſued, with privy ſeals, to as great perſons as moſt are in the nation, for the advance of monies, which have been diſcovered to us by the perſons themſelves; commiſſions for regiments of horſe and foot, and command of caſtles, have been likewiſe given from Charles Stuart, ſince your ſitting; and what the general inſolences of that party have been, the honeſt people have been ſenſible of, and can very well teſtify.

"It hath not been only thus; but as in a quinſey or pleuriſy, where the humour fixeth in one part, give it ſcope, it will gather to that place, to the hazarding of the whole; and it is natural to do ſo, till it deſtroy nature, in that perſon on whomſoever this befals.

"So likewiſe will thoſe diſeaſes take accidental cauſes of aggravation of their diſtemper; and this was that which I did aſſert, that they have taken accidental cauſes, for the growing and encreaſing of thoſe diſtempers, as much as would have been in the natural body, if timely remedy were not applied. And indeed things were come to that paſs (in reſpect of which I ſhall give you a particular account) that no mortal phyſician, if the great phyſician had not ſtept in, could have cured the diſtemper.

" Shall I lay this upon your account, or my own? I am ſure I can lay it upon God's account, that if he had not ſtept in, the diſeaſe had been mortal and deſtructive; and what is all this? Truly I muſt needs ſay, a company of men, ſtill like briars and thorns, and worſe, if worſe can be, of another ſort than thoſe before mentioned to you, have been, and yet are, endeavouring to put us into blood, and into confuſion, more deſperate and dangerous confuſion than England ever yet ſaw.

" And I muſt ſay, as when Gideon commandhis ſon to fall upon Zeba and Zalmunna, and ſlay them, they thought it more noble duty to die by the hand of a man, than of a ſtripling; which ſhews, there is ſome contentment in the hand by which a man falls; ſo it is ſome ſatisfaction, if a common-wealth muſt periſh, that it periſh by men, and not by the hands of perſons differing little from beaſts; that if it muſt needs ſuffer, it ſhould rather ſuffer from rich men, than from poor men, who, as Solomon ſays, when they oppreſs, they leave nothing behind them, but are as ſweeping rain.

" Now, ſuch as theſe alſo are grown up under your ſhadow. But it will be aſked, what have they done? I hope, tho' they pretend the common-wealth's intereſt, they have had no encouragement from you, but that as before, rather taken it, than that you have adminiſtered any cauſe unto them for ſo doing, from delays, from hopes that this parliament would not ſettle, from pamphlets, mentioning ſtrange votes and reſolves of yours, which I hope did abuſe you. That you ſee, whatever the grounds were, theſe have been the effects. And thus I have laid theſe things before you, and others will be eaſily able to judge how far you are concerned.

" And

" And what have theſe men done? They have alſo laboured to pervert where they could, and as they could, the honeſt-meaning people of the nation; they have laboured to engage ſome in the army; and I doubt, that not only they, but ſome others alſo, very well known to you, have helped in this work of debauching and dividing the army; they have, they have; I would be loth to ſay, who, where, and how, much more loth to ſay, they were any of your own number, but I can ſay, endeavours have been uſed to put the army into a diſtemper, and to feed that which is the worſt humour in the army, which tho' it was not a maſtering humour, yet theſe took their advantage from a delay of the ſettlement, and the practices before mentioned, and ſtopping to pay off the army, to run us into free quarter, and to bring us into the inconveniences moſt to be feared and avoided.

" What if I am able to make it appear in fact, that ſome amongſt you have run into the city of London to perſuade to petitions and addreſſes to you for reverſing your own votes that you have paſſed? Whether theſe practices were in favour of your liberties, or tended to beget hopes of peace and ſettlement from you; and whether debauching the army in England, as is before expreſſed, and ſtarving it, and putting it upon free quarter, and occaſioning and neceſſitating the greateſt part thereof in Scotland to march into England, leaving the remainder thereof to have their throats cut there, and kindling by the reſt a fire in our own boſoms, were for the advantage of affairs here, let the world judge.

" This I tell you alſo, that the correſpondency held with the intereſt of cavaliers, by that party of men called levellers, and who call themſelves commonwealth's-men; whoſe declarations were framed to that purpoſe, and ready to be publiſhed

at

at the time of their common riſing, whereof we are poſſeſſed; and for which we have the confeſſion of themſelves now in cuſtody; who confeſs alſo they built their hopes upon the aſſurance they had of the parliament's not agreeing to a ſettlement; whether theſe humours have not nouriſhed themſelves under your boughs, is the ſubject of my preſent diſcourſe, and I think I ſay not amiſs if I affirm it to be ſo.

"And I muſt ſay it again, that that which hath been their advantage, thus to raiſe diſturbance, hath been by the loſs of thoſe golden opportunities that God had put into your hands for ſettlement. Judge you whether theſe things were thus or no; when you firſt ſat down I am ſure things were not thus; there was very great peace and ſedateneſs throughout theſe nations, and great expectations of a ſettlement, which I remembered to you at the beginning of my ſpeech, and hoped that you would have entered upon your buſineſs as you found it.

"There was a government in the poſſeſſion of the people, I ſay a government in the poſſeſſion of the people, for many months, it hath now been exerciſed near fifteen months; and if it were needfull that I ſhould tell you how it came into their poſſeſſion, and how willingly they received it; how all law and juſtice were diſtributed from it, in every reſpect, as to life, liberty and eſtate; how it was owned by God, as being the diſpenſation of his providence after twelve years war, and ſealed and witneſſed unto by the people; I ſhould but repeat what I ſaid in my laſt ſpeech made unto you in this place, and therefore I forbear.

"When you were entered upon this government, raveling into it (you know I took no notice what you were doing) if you had gone upon that foot of account, to have made ſuch good and wholeſome proviſions for the good of the people

of

of theſe nations, for the ſettling of ſuch matters in things of religion as would have upheld and given countenance to a godly miniſtry, and yet would have given a juſt liberty to godly men of different judgments, men of the ſame faith with them that you call the orthodox miniſtry in England, as it is well known the Independants are, and many under the form of Baptiſm, who are found in the Faith, only may perhaps be different in judgment in ſome leſſer matters, yet as true Chriſtians, both looking at ſalvation only by faith in the blood of Chriſt, men profeſſing the fear of God, having recourſe to the name of God, as to a ſtrong tower; I ſay, you might have opportunity to have ſettled peace and quietneſs amongſt all profeſſing godlineſs, and might have been inſtrumental, if not to have healed the breaches, yet to have kept the godly of all judgments from running one upon another, and by keeping them from being overrun by a common enemy, rendered them and theſe nations, both ſecure, happy, and well ſatisfied.

" Are theſe things done? Or any thing towards them? Is there not yet upon the ſpirits of men a ſtrange itch? Nothing will ſatisfy them, unleſs they can put their fingers upon their brethren's conſciences, to pinch them there. To do this, was no part of the conteſt we had with the common adverſary; for Religion was not the thing at the firſt conteſted for; but God brought it to that iſſue at laſt, and gave it in to us by way of Redundancy, and at laſt it proved to be that which was moſt dear to us; and wherein conſiſted this, more than in obtaining that liberty from the tyranny of the Biſhops, to all ſpecies of Proteſtants, to worſhip God acording to their own light and conſcience? For want of which, many of our brethren forſook their native Countries, to ſeek their bread from ſtrangers, and to live in howling Wilderneſſes; and for which alſo, many that remained here,

were

were impriſoned, and otherwiſe abuſed, and made the ſcorn of the nation.

" Thoſe that were ſound in the Faith, how proper was it for them to labour for liberty, for a juſt liberty, that men ſhould not be trampled upon for their conſciences? Had not they laboured but lately under the weight of perſecutions, and was it fit for them to ſit heavy upon others? Is it ingenuous to aſk liberty, and not to give it? What greater hyprocriſy, than for thoſe who were oppreſſed by the Biſhops, to become the greateſt oppreſſors themſelves, ſo ſoon as their yoke was removed? I could wiſh that they, who call for liberty now alſo, had not too much of that ſpirit if the power were in their hands.

" As for profane perſons, blaſphemers, ſuch as preach ſedition, the contentious railers, evil ſpeakers, who ſeek by evil words to corrupt good manners, perſons of looſe converſations; puniſhment from the civil magiſtrate ought to be meet with them; becauſe, if theſe pretend conſcience, yet walking diſorderly, and not according, but contrary to the goſpel, and even to natural light, they are judged of all, and their ſins being open, makes them ſubjects of the magiſtrate's ſword, 'who ought not to bear it in vain.'

" The diſcipline of the army was ſuch, that a man would not be ſuffered to remain there, of whom we could take notice he was guilty of ſuch practices as theſe: And therefore how happy would England have been, and you, and I, if the Lord had led you on to have ſettled upon ſuch good accounts as theſe are, and to have diſcountenanced ſuch practices as the other, and left men in diſputable things free to their own conſciences, which was well provided for by the government, and liberty left to provide againſt what was apparently evil.

" Judge

"Judge you, whether the conteſting for things that were provided for by this government hath been profitable expence of time for the good of theſe nations? By means whereof, you may ſee you have wholly elapſed your time, and done juſt nothing.

"I will ſay this to you in behalf of the long parliament, that had ſuch an expedient as this government been propoſed to them, and that they could have ſeen the cauſe of God thus provided for, and had by debates been enlightened in the grounds by which the difficulties might have been cleared, and the reaſon of the whole inforced, the circumſtances of time and perſons, with the temper and diſpoſition of the people, and affairs both abroad and at home, when it was undertaken, well weighed (as well as they were thought to love their ſeats) I think in my conſcience that they would have proceeded in another manner than you have done, and not have expoſed things to thoſe difficulties and hazards they now are at, nor given occaſion to leave the people ſo diſſettled as they now are, who, I dare ſay, in the ſobereſt, and moſt judicious part of them, did expect, not a queſtioning, but a doing things in purſuance of the government; and, if I be not miſinformed, very many of you came up with this ſatisfaction, having had time enough to weigh and conſider the ſame.

"And when I ſay, ſuch an expedient as this government is, wherein I dare aſſert there is a juſt juſt liberty to the people of God, and the juſt rights of the people in theſe nations provided for, I can put the iſſue thereof upon the cleareſt reaſon, whatſoever any go about to ſuggeſt to the contrary.

"But this not being the time and place of ſuch an averment, for ſatisfaction ſake herein, enough is ſaid in a book, entituled, 'A true ſtate of the caſe of the commonwealth, &c.' publiſhed in Ja-

nuary 1653. (And for myſelf, I deſire not to keep it an hour longer than I may preſerve England in its juſt rights, and may protect the people of God in ſuch a juſt liberty of their conſciences, as I have already mentioned.) And therefore if this parliament have judged things to be otherwiſe than as I have ſtated them, it had been huge friendlineſs between perſons that had ſuch a Reciprocation, and in ſo great concernments to the publick, for them to have convinced me in what points therein my error lay, of which I never yet had a word from you. But if inſtead thereof, your time has been ſpent in ſetting up ſomewhat elſe upon another bottom than this ſtands, that looks as if a laying grounds of a quarrel had rather been deſigned, than to give the people ſettlement; if it be thus, it is well your labours have not arrived to any maturity at all.

"This government called you hither, the conſtitution whereof being ſo limited, a ſingle perſon and a parliament, and this was thought moſt agreeable to the general ſenſe of the nation, having had experience enough by trial of other concluſions, judging this moſt likely to avoid the extremes of Monarchy on the one hand, and Democracy on the other, and yet not to found *dominium in gratia*. And if ſo, then certainly, to make it more than a notion, it was requiſite that it ſhould be as it is in the government, which puts it on a true and equal balance. It has been already ſubmitted to the judicious honeſt people of this nation, whether the balance be not equal, and what their judgment is, is viſible by ſubmiſſion to it, by acting upon it, by reſtraining their truſtees from meddling with it; and it neither aſks nor needs any better ratification. But when truſtees in parliament ſhall by experience find any evil in any parts of the government, referred by the government itſelf to the conſideration of the Protector and Parliament (of which time itſelf

ſelf will be the beſt diſcoverer) how can it be reaſonably imagined, that a perſon or perſons coming in by election, and ſtanding under ſuch obligations, and ſo limited, and ſo neceſſitated by oath to govern for the people's good, and to make their love, under God, the beſt under-propping, and his beſt intereſt to him; how can it, I ſay, be imagined that the preſent or ſucceeding Protectors will refuſe to agree to alter any ſuch thing in the government that may be found to be for the good of the people, or to recede from any thing which he might be convinced caſts the balance too much to the ſingle perſon? And although for the preſent, the keeping up, and having in his power the militia, ſeems the moſt hard, yet if it ſhould be yielded up at ſuch a time as this, when there is as much need to keep this cauſe by it (which is moſt evidently at this time impugned by all the enemies of it) as there was to get it, what would become of all? Or if it ſhould not be equally placed in him and the parliament, but yielded up at any time, it determines his power, either for doing the good he ought, or hindering parliaments from perpetuating themſelves, or from impoſing what religions they pleaſe on the conſciences of men, or what government they pleaſe upon the nation, thereby ſubjecting us to diſſettlement in every parliament, and to the deſperate conſequences thereof; and if the nation ſhall happen to fall into a bleſſed peace, how eaſily and certainly will their charge be taken off, and their forces be diſbanded, and then where will the danger be to have the militia thus ſtated?

"What if I ſhould ſay, if there ſhould be a diſproportion or diſequality as to the power, it is on the other hand? and if this be ſo, wherein have you had cauſe to quarrel? What demonſtrations have you held forth to ſettle me to your opinion? Would you had made me ſo happy as to let me

have known your grounds. I have made a free and ingenuous confeſſion of my faith to you, and could have wiſhed it had been in your hearts to have agreed that ſome friendly and cordial debates might have been towards mutual conviction; was there none amongſt you to move ſuch a thing? No fitneſs to liſten to it? No deſire of a right underſtanding? If it be not folly in me to liſten to town-talk, ſuch things have been propoſed, and rejected with ſtiffneſs and ſeverity, once and again; was it not likely to have been more advantageous to the good of this nation? I will ſay this to you for myſelf, and to that I have my conſcience as a thouſand witneſſes, and I have my comfort and contentment in it, and I have the witneſs of divers here, that I think truly ſcorn to own me in a lie, that I would not have been averſe to any alteration, of the good of which I might have been convinced, although I could not have agreed to the taking it off the foundation on which it ſtands, viz. The acceptation and conſent of the people.

" I will not preſage what you have been about, or doing in all this time, nor do I love to make conjectures; but I muſt tell you this, that as I undertook this government in the ſimplicity of my heart, and as before God, and to do the part of an honeſt man, and to be true to the intereſt which in my conſcience is dear to many of you (though it is not always underſtood what God in his wiſdom may hide from us, as to peace and ſettlement) ſo I can ſay that no particular intereſt, either of myſelf, eſtate, honour, or family, are, or have been prevalent with me to this undertaking.

" For if you had upon the old government offered to me this one thing; I ſpeak, as thus adviſed, and before God, as having been to this day of this opinion, and this hath been my conſtant judgment, well known to many that hear me ſpeak; if this one thing had been inſerted, that

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one thing, that this government should have been, and placed in my family hereditary, I would have rejected it, and I could have done no other, according to my present conscience and light. I will tell you my reason, though I cannot tell what God will do with me, nor you, nor the nation, for throwing away precious opportunities committed to us.

"This hath been my principle, and I liked it when this government came first to be proposed to me, that it put us off that hereditary way, well looking, that as God had declared what government he had delivered to the Jews, and placed it upon such persons as had been instrumental for the conduct and deliverance of his people; and considering that promise in Isaiah, that God would 'give rulers as at the first, and judges as at the beginning;' I did not know, but that God might begin, and though at present with a most unworthy person, yet as to the future, it might be after this manner, and I thought this might usher it in. I am speaking as to my judgment against making it hereditary, to have men chosen for their love to God, and to truth and justice, and not to have it hereditary; for as it is in Ecclesiastes, 'Who knoweth whether he may beget a fool or wise,' honest or not? Whatever they be must come in upon that account, because the government is made a patrimony.

"And this I do perhaps declare with too much earnestness, as being my own concernment, and know not what place it may have in your hearts, and of the good people in the nation; but however it be, I have comfort in this my truth and plainness.

"I have thus told you my thoughts, which truly I have declared to you in the fear of God, as knowing he will not be mocked, and in the strength of God, as knowing and rejoicing that I

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am kept in my ſpeaking, eſpecially, when I do not form or frame things without the compaſs of integrity and honeſty, that my own conſcience gives me not the lie to what I ſay, and then in what I ſay I can rejoice.

" Now to ſpeak a word or two to you, of that I muſt profeſs in the name of the ſame Lord, and wiſh that there had been no cauſe that I ſhould have thus ſpoken to you, and though I have told you, that I came with joy the firſt time, with ſome regret the ſecond, that now I ſpeak with moſt regret of all.

" I look upon you, as having among you many perſons, that I could lay down my life individually for; I could, through the grace of God, deſire to lay down my life for you: So far am I from having an unkind or unchriſtian heart towards you in your particular capacities.

" I have indeed, as a work moſt incumbent upon me, conſulted what might be my duty in ſuch a day as this, caſting up all conſiderations: I muſt confeſs, as I told you, that I did think occaſionally this nation hath ſuffered extremely in the reſpects mentioned, as alſo in the diſappointments of their expectations of that juſtice that was due to them by your ſitting thus long; and what have you brought forth?

" I did not, nor cannot apprehend what it is, (I would be loth to call it a fate, that were too paganiſh a word) but there is ſomething in it, that we have not our expectations.

" I did think alſo for my ſelf, that I am like to meet with difficulties, and that this nation will not (as it is fit it ſhould not) be deluded with pretexts of neceſſity in that great buſineſs of raiſing money; and were it not that I can make ſome dilemma's upon which to reſolve ſome things of my conſcience, judgment, and actions, I ſhould ſink at the very proſpect of my encounters; ſome of them

them are general, ſome are more ſpecial, ſuppoſing this cauſe, or this buſineſs muſt be carried on: Either it is of God, or of man; if it be of man, I would I had never touched it with a finger; if I had not had a hope fixed in me, that this cauſe, and this buſineſs is of God, I would many years ago have run from it. If it be of God, he will bear it up. If it be of man, it will tumble, as every thing that hath been of man, ſince the world began, hath done. And what are all our hiſtories and other traditions of actions in former times, but God manifeſting himſelf that he hath ſhaken and tumbled down, and trampled upon, every thing that he hath not planted? And as this is, ſo the all-wiſe God deal with it.

"If this be of human ſtructure and invention, and it be an old plotting and contrivance to bring things to this iſſue, and they are not the births of providence, then they will tumble. But if the Lord take pleaſure in England, and if he will do us good, he is able to bear us up; let the difficulties be whatſoever they will, we ſhall in his ſtrength be able to encounter with them. And I bleſs God I have been inured to difficulties, and I never found God failing when I truſted in him; I can laugh and ſing in my heart when I ſpeak of theſe things to you, or elſewhere. And though ſome may think it is an hard thing without parliamentary authority to raiſe money upon this nation; yet I have another argument to the good people of this nation, if they would be ſafe, and have no better principle; whether they preſer the having of their will, tho' it be their deſtruction, rather than comply with things of neceſſity; that will excuſe me; but I ſhould wrong my native country to ſuppoſe this.

"For I look at the people of theſe nations, as the bleſſing of the Lord, and they are a people bleſſed by God. They have been ſo, and they will

will be ſo, by reaſon of that immortal ſeed, which hath been, and is among them, theſe regenerated ones in the land, of ſeveral judgments, who are all the flock of Chriſt and lambs of Chriſt, tho' perhaps under many unruly paſſions, and troubles of ſpirits, whereby they give diſquiet to themſelves and others; yet they are not ſo to God, as to us; he is a God of other patience, and he will own the leaſt of truth in the hearts of people; and the people being the bleſſing of God, they will not be ſo angry, but they will prefer their ſafety to their paſſions, and their real ſecurity to forms, when neceſſity calls for ſupplies; had they not been well acquainted with this principle, they had never ſeen this day of goſpel-liberty.

" But if any man ſhall object, It is an eaſy thing to talk of neceſſities, when men create neceſſities; would not the Lord Protector make himſelf great, and his Family great? doth not he make theſe neceſſities? and then he will come upon the people with this argument of neceſſity.

" This were ſomething hard indeed, but I have not yet known what it is to make neceſſities, whatſoever the judgments or thoughts of men are. And I ſay this, not only to this aſſembly, but to the world, that that man liveth not, that can come to me, and charge me that I have in theſe great revolutions made neceſſities: I challenge even all that fear God; and as God hath ſaid, 'My glory I will not give unto another;' let men take heed, and be twice adviſed, how they call his revolutions, the things of God, and his working of things from one period to another, how, I ſay, they call them neceſſities of men's creation; for by ſo doing, they do vilify and leſſen the works of God, and rob him of his glory, which he hath ſaid, he will not give unto another, nor ſuffer to be taken from him. We know what God did to Herod when he was applauded, and did not acknowledge God;

and

and God knoweth what he will do with men, when they ſhall call his revolutions human deſigns, and ſo detract from his glory, when they have not been forecaſt, but ſudden providences in things, whereby carnal and wordly men are enraged, and under, and at which many, (I fear, ſome good) have murmured and repined, becauſe diſappointed of their miſtaken fancies; but ſtill they have been the wiſe diſpoſings of the Almighty, though inſtruments have had their paſſions and frailties; and I think it is an honour to God to acknowledge the neceſſities to have been of God's impoſing, when truly they have been ſo, as indeed they have, when we take our ſin in our actings to ourſelves; and much more ſafe, than to judge things ſo contingent, as if there were not a God that ruled upon earth.

"We know the Lord hath poured this nation from veſſel to veſſel, till he poured it into your lap, when you came firſt together: I am confident, that it came ſo into your hands, was not judged by you to be from counterfeited or feigned neceſſity, but by divine providence and diſpenſation. And this I ſpeak with more earneſtneſs, becauſe I ſpeak for God, and not for men; I would have any man to come and tell of the tranſactions that have been, and of thoſe periods of time, wherein God hath made theſe revolutions, and find where they can fix a feigned neceſſity.

"I could recite recite particulars, if either my ſtrength would ſerve me to ſpeak, or yours to hear; if that you would revolve the great hand of God in his great diſpenſations, you would find that there is ſcarce a man that fell off at any period of time when God had any work to do, that can give God or his work, at this day, a good word.

"It was, ſay ſome, the cunning of the Lord Protector, (I take it to myſelf) it was the craft of ſuch a man, and his plot, that hath brought it

about. And as they ſay in other countries, there are five or ſix cunning men in England that have ſkill, they do all theſe things: Oh what blaſphemy in this! becauſe men that are without God in the world, and walk not with him, and know not what it is to pray, or believe, and to receive returns from God, and to be ſpoken unto by the ſpirit of God, who ſpeaks without a written word ſometimes, yet according to it: God hath ſpoken heretofore in divers manners, let him ſpeak as he pleaſeth. Hath he not given us liberty? Nay, is it not our duty to go to the law and to the teſtimonies, and there we ſhall find that there have been impreſſions in extraordinary caſes, as well without the written word as with it; and therefore there is no difference in the thing thus aſſerted from truths generally received, except we will exclude the Spirit, without whoſe concurrence all other teachings are ineffectual. He doth ſpeak to the hearts and conſciences of men, and leadeth them to his law and teſtimonies, and there he ſpeaks to them, and ſo gives them double teachings, according to that of Job, 'God ſpeaketh once, yea twice;' and that of David, 'God hath ſpoken once, yea twice have I heard this.' Thoſe men that live upon their Mumpſimus and Sumpſimus, their Maſſes and Service-books, their dead and carnal worſhip, no marvel if they be ſtrangers to God, and the works of God, and to ſpiritual diſpenſations. And becauſe they ſay and believe thus, muſt we do ſo too? We in this land have been otherwiſe inſtructed, even by the word, and works, and Spirit of God.

"To ſay that men bring forth theſe things, when God doth them, judge you if God will bear this. I wiſh that every ſober heart, tho' he hath had temptations upon him of deſerting this cauſe of God, yet may take heed how he provokes, and 'falls into the hands of the living God,' by ſuch blaſphemies as theſe, according to the 10th of the Hebrews,

Hebrews, 'If we ſin wilfully after that we have received the knowledge of the truth, there remains no more ſacrifice for ſin.' (it was ſpoken to the Jews, that having profeſſed Chriſt apoſtatized from him) what then? nothing but 'a fearful falling into the hands of the living God.'

"They that ſhall attribute to this or that perſon the contrivances and production of thoſe mighty things God hath wrought in the midſt of us, and that they have not been the revolutions of Chriſt himſelf, upon whoſe ſhoulders the government is laid, they ſpeak againſt God, and they die without a Mediator; that is, if we deny the Spirit of Jeſus Chriſt the glory of all his works in the world, by which he rules kingdoms, and doth adminiſter, and is the rod of his ſtrength, we provoke the Mediator; and he may ſay, I'll leave you to God, I'll not intercede for you, let him tear you to pieces; I'll leave thee to fall into God's hands, thou denieſt me my ſovereignty and power committed to me; I'll not intercede nor mediate for thee, thou falleſt into the hands of the living God. Therefore whatſoever you may judge men for, and ſay, this man is cunning, and politic, and ſubtil, take heed, again I ſay, how you judge of his revolutions, as the products of men's inventions.

"I may be thought to preſs too much upon this theme, but I pray God it may ſtick upon your hearts and mine. The worldly minded man knows nothing of this, but is a ſtranger to it; and becauſe of this is his atheiſm and murmuring at inſtruments, yea, repining at God himſelf; and no wonder, conſidering the Lord hath done ſuch things amongſt us as have not been known in the world theſe thouſand years, and yet notwithſtanding is not owned by us.

"There is another neceſſity which you have put upon us, and we have not ſought; I appeal to

God, angels, and men, if I ſhall raiſe money according to the article in the government, which had power to call you hither, and did, and inſtead of ſeaſonable providing for the army, you have laboured to overthrow the government, and the army is now upon free quarter, and you would never ſo much as let me hear a tittle from you concerning it; where is the fault? Has it not been as if you had had a purpoſe to put this extremity upon us and the nation? I hope this was not in your minds, I am not willing to judge ſo; but this is the ſtate unto which we are reduced: By the deſigns of ſome in the army, who are now in cuſtody, it was deſigned to get as many of them as they could, through diſcontent for want of money, the army being in a barren country, near thirty weeks behind in pay, and upon other ſpecious pretences, to march for England out of Scotland, and in diſcontent to ſeize their general there, a faithful and honeſt man, that ſo another might head the army; and all this opportunity taken from your delays; whether will this be a thing of feigned neceſſity? What could it ſignify but that the army are in diſcontent already, and we'll make them live upon ſtones, we'll make them caſt off their governors and diſcipline? What can be ſaid to this? I liſt not to unſaddle myſelf, and put the fault upon others backs; whether it hath been for the good of England, whilſt men have been talking of this thing or the other, and pretending liberty, and a many good words, whether it hath been as it ſhould have been? I am confident you cannot think it has, the nation will not think ſo. And if the worſt ſhould come of things, I know not what the Corniſhmen, or the Lincolnſhiremen may think, or other counties, but I believe they will all think they are not ſafe. A temporary ſuſpenſion of caring for the greateſt liberties and privileges (if it were ſo, which is denied) would not

not have been of that damage, that the not providing againſt free quarter hath run the nation upon. And if it be my liberty to walk abroad in the fields, or to take a journey, yet it is not my wiſdom to do ſo when my houſe is on fire.

"I have troubled you with a long ſpeech, and I believe it may not have the ſame reſentment with all that it may have with ſome; but becauſe this is unknown to me, I ſhall leave it to God, and conclude with that, that I think myſelf bound in my duty to God, and the people of theſe nations, to their ſafety and good in every reſpect; I think it my duty to tell you, that it is not for the profit of theſe nations, nor for common and publick good, for you to continue here any longer; and therefore I do declare unto you, That I do diſſolve this parliament."

CHAP. V.

From the diſſolution of his ſecond Parliament, to the meeting of his third Parliament.

THUS the Protector in great diſpleaſure, and in this upbraiding manner parted with his ſecond parliament; which as it increaſed the indignation of the Republicans, ſo it gave great encouragement to the Royalliſts, to go on with the deſigns they had now on foot; ſo that both parties, for King and Common-wealth, were in rage, and plots, and arms againſt him, though by Oliver's good policy and extraordinary intelligence, their deſigns were cruſhed before they could bring them to any maturity. Major John Wildman a noted commonwealth's-man, whom the Protector had expelled the houſe at the firſt opening of the ſeſſion, was ſeized with a paper dictated by him, intitled, " The declaration of the free and well-affected people of England, now in arms againſt the tyrant Oliver Cromwell, Eſq;" and beginning thus: " Being ſatisfied in our judgment and conſciences of the preſent neceſſity to take up arms for the defence of our native rights and freedoms, which are wholly invaded and ſwallowed up in the pride and ambition of Oliver Cromwell, who calls himſelf Lord Protector of England, who hath rendered all Engliſhmen no better than his vaſſals, &c." But this man, contrary to the expectation of all his friends, who thought of nothing but his death, was after a ſhort impriſonment diſcharged and ſet at full liberty. The Protector at the ſame time uſed all imaginable arts to ſecure himſelf, and prevent a univerſal odium: He paved the fleet and army well, and diſcharged all officers whoſe fidelity he ſuſpected; carried it very fair with the city

city of London, giving them the power of their own militia, under their old leader major-general Skippon, treating them and accepting of treats from them; eased the common people of some customary burdens, and some part of their taxes; and used an indefatigable diligence and unbounded expence in procuring intelligence, and early crushing all designs against him. So that though his mother (who died this year, and was buried with extraordinary pomp and solemnity) was in continual fear of her son's life, and when she heard any gun go off, would cry out that her son was shot, and could not be easy without seeing him safe once or twice a day; and though a thousand of his enemies did really believe, that killing him would be no murder, yet he had the good fortune to escape all dangers.

The Cavalier plot was still on foot, which the Protector had a jealousy was countenanced by the parliament; and he gave out that to be a cause of his dissolving them. The project was, to have several parties rise together in several parts of the nation, about the beginning of March; and though upon the private intelligence the Protector had received, several persons were apprehended, and many arms seized, yet it was still resolved to attempt something. To this end, a cart-load of arms was brought to the place of rendezvous for the northern parts, where 'twas reported the conspirators were to be headed by Wilmot Earl of Rochester. But being somewhat alarmed at their first meeting, and apprehensive of the regular forces falling upon them before they were sufficiently prepared, they dispersed themselves, leaving their arms behind them. The design was not so soon over in the west, where Sir Joseph Wagstaff, colonel Penruddock, captain Hugh Grove, Mr. Jones, and other persons of condition, entered Salisbury with a body of two hundred horse well armed, expecting there

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there to have their numbers daily augmented. It was the time of the aſſizes, and they came thither about five o' clock in the morning; where, having proclaimed the King, they ſeized the judges, Rolls and Nicolas, and took away their commiſſions. They alſo ſeized the ſheriff; and Wagſtaff was for hanging all three of them; but others not agreeing to it, they were at laſt ſet at liberty. Their forces not at all anſwering their firſt expectations, they retired to Dog-town, and from thence marched as far as Blandford in Dorſetſhire, where moſt men looked upon them as flying, ſeveral of their own party ſtealing from them as faſt as others came to them; and thoſe who continued with them, did ſo rather to ſecure themſelves and obtain better conditions, than from any expectation of ſucceſs in their undertaking. Captain Unton Crook, having intelligence of their motions, purſued them into Devonſhire, and at South-Molton fell upon them and totally defeated them: Moſt of them were taken priſoners, and amongſt them Penruddock, Grove, and Jones; Wagſtaff, Maſon, and Mompeſſon narrowly eſcaping. Penruddock and Grove were beheaded at Exeter, and others were hanged in that city; ſome of them were ſent to Saliſbury, the place where they had ſo lately triumphed, and there tried and executed; and many were tranſported to the Weſt-Indies. Thus theſe inſurrections, which at firſt ſeemed to threaten the whole kingdom, expired for the preſent, and the Protector was ſecured without the help of his army.

This plot, which was laid to ruin the Protector, proved in the iſſue of great advantage to him, advanced his credit, and ſerved to confirm his authority the more. It cleared him of the reproach of inventing plots himſelf for an excuſe and pretence to continue ſuch numerous forces in pay; and that little ſucceſs the King's party met with,

was

was judged a good proof that there was not yet sufficient force for the safety and quiet of the kingdom. From hence he took occasion, with the advice of his council, to make an order, "That all who had born arms for the King, or had declared themselves to be of his party, should be decimated, or pay a tenth part of their estates, to support the charge of such extraordinary forces, as their turbulent and seditious practices obliged him to keep up;" the Protector declaring, "That the charge should be laid upon those who had occasioned it, and not upon the honest party, who had already been so much sufferers." Commissioners were appointed in every county for this purpose; and by this means incredible sums of money were brought into the Protector's coffers. He likewise committed to prison many of those whom he suspected, as the Earl of Oxford, the Lords Willoughby of Parham, Newport, and Compton; Littleton, Peyton, Packington, Ashburnham, Russel, Legg, Philips, Halsey, and several others. He had also a very watchful eye over the Republicans, and Fifthmonarchy men, and gave Monk orders to seize major-general Overton, major Bramstone, Holms, and other officers. Overton was sent up to London, and committed to the Tower, and his regiment given to colonel Morgan, colonel Okey's to the lord Howard, and cornet Joyce, now colonel, was likewise cashiered. And finally, to provide for all inconveniences, as well amongst the people as in the army, he divided England, as 'twere, into so many cantons, over each of which he placed one called by the name of major-general; which major-generals were in the nature of prefects or governors of provinces. These men were to have the inspection and government of the inferior commissioners in every county, to commit to prison all such persons as they suspected, to levy all monies which were ordered by his Highness and his council to be

The Royalists decimated.

1655. collected for the publick, to ſequeſter all who did not pay their decimation, and to put in execution ſuch farther directions as they ſhould receive; and there was no appeal from any of their acts, but to the Protector himſelf.

Story of a Berkſhire farmer.

Theſe major-generals carried things with a very high hand, decimating whom they pleaſed, interrupting the proceedings at law, upon petitions of thoſe who thought themſelves aggrieved, and threatening ſuch as would not readily ſubmit to their orders, with tranſportation to the Weſt-Indies. A certain farmer in Berkſhire, being required to pay his tenth, aſked the commiſſioners, in caſe he did ſo, "What ſecurity he ſhould have for the other nine parts;" and it being anſwered, "That he ſhould have the Protector's order and theirs for the enjoyment of the reſt;" he replied, "That he had already an act of parliament for the whole, which he could not but think to be as good ſecurity as they could give." "But, ſaid he, if Goodman ſuch-a-one and ſuch-a-one (naming two of his neighbours) will give me their bond for it, I know what to ſay to ſuch a propoſal; for if they break their agreement, I know where to right myſelf; but theſe ſword-men are too ſtrong for me."

Of one Cony who refuſed to pay the taxes.

About this time alſo, the Protector having laid ſome extraordinary tax upon the city, one Cony, who had formerly ſerved him in bringing about his deſigns, poſitively refuſed to pay his ſhare, and vehemently diſſuaded others from complying with it; Hereupon the Protector ſent for him, and put him in mind of the old friendſhip that had been between them, telling him, "That of all men he did not expect this oppoſition from him, in a matter that was ſo neceſſary for the good of the commonwealth. Cony in return remembered him, how great an enemy he had expreſſed himſelf to ſuch grievances, and how he had declared, "That all who ſubmitted to pay illegal taxes, were greater

enemies

enemies to their country than they who impoſed them; and that the tyranny of princes could never be grievous, but by the tameneſs and ſtupidity of the people." When the Protector ſaw he could not bring him over, he told him, "That he had a will as ſtubborn as his, and he would try which of them two ſhould be maſter;" and thereupon committed him to priſon. As ſoon as the term came on, the priſoner brought his Habeas Corpus in the King's Bench, then called the Upper Bench. Maynard, Twiſden, and Windham, being of counſel for him, demanded his liberty, both upon the illegality of the commitment and of the impoſition. The judges could not defend either, and it appeared plainly what their ſentence would be; ſo that the Protector's attorney required a farther day to anſwer what had been urged. But before that time, the three who were his counſel were committed to the Tower; and the judges were ſent for and ſeverely reprimanded, for ſuffering the liberty they had taken: And when they humbly alledged the law and Magna Charta, the Protector told them, "Their Magna Farta ſhould not controul his actions, which he knew were for the ſafety of the common-wealth;" and aſked them, "Who made them judges? And whether they had any authority to ſit there but what he gave them;" and therefore he adviſed them "to be more tender of that which only could preſerve them," and ſent them away with this caution, "That they ſhould not ſuffer the lawyers to prate what it would not become them to hear."

But though the Protector proceeded in this arbitrary, and indeed (it may be ſaid) tyrannical manner, againſt thoſe who conteſted his authority; yet in all other caſes, where the life of his juriſdiction was not concerned, he ſeemed to have a great reverence for the law, and the conſtitution, rarely interpoſing between party and party, and to

do him juſtice, there appeared in his government many things that were truly great and praiſe-worthy. Juſtice, as well diſtributive as commutative, was by him reſtored almoſt to its ancient grace and ſplendour, the judges executing their office without covetouſneſs, according to law and equity; and the laws, except ſome few where himſelf was immediately concerned, being permitted to have their full force upon all, without impediment or delay. Men's manners, outwardly at leaſt, became likewiſe reformed, either by removing the incentives to luxury, or by means of the ancient laws now revived and put in execution. There was a ſtrict diſcipline kept in his court, where drunkenneſs, whoredom, and extortion, were either baniſhed, or ſeverely rebuked. Trade began again to flouriſh and proſper, and moſt things to put on a happy and promiſing aſpect. The Protector alſo ſhewed a great regard to the advancement of learning, and was a great encourager of it. The univerſity of Oxford, in particular, acknowledged his Highneſs's reſpect to them, in continuing their chancellor, and beſtowing on the publick library there four and twenty Greek manuſcripts, and munificently allowing an hundred pounds a year to a divinity reader. He alſo ordered a ſcheme to be drawn for founding and endowing a college at Durham, for the convenience of the northern ſtudents.

The Protector's deſign of re-admitting the Jews.

About this time, a deſign was formed by the Protector, of ſettling the Jews again in this nation; and Manaſſeh Ben-Iſrael, a great Rabbi, came over and made his ſtated propoſals, and had a conference upon them, for re-admitting that people to exerciſe trade and worſhip in England. The Protector, on this occaſion, ſent for divers miniſters of the goſpel, and laid theſe propoſals before them; and at the ſame time with great earneſtneſs declared his opinion: "That ſince there was a promiſe

miſe that they ſhould be converted, means ought to be uſed to that end; and the moſt likely way was, the preaching of the goſpel in truth and ſincerity, as it was then in England, devoid of all popiſh idolatry, which had rendered the chriſtian religion odious to them." But the deſign was ſo violently oppoſed, that this treaty came to nothing. 'Tis ſaid the Protector had the promiſe of 800,000l. from the Jews, in caſe he procured this toleration for them; which made him ſo earneſt to bring it about: But Biſhop Burnet informs us, that he entered into this treaty with them for the ſake of intelligence. His words are theſe: "When he underſtood what dealers the Jews were every where in that trade that depends on news, the advancing money upon high or low intereſt in proportion to the riſk they run, or the gain to be made as the times might turn, and in the buying and ſelling of the actions of money ſo advanced, he, more upon that account, than in compliance with the principle of toleration, brought a company of them over to England, and gave them leave to build a ſynagogue. All the while that he was negociating this, they were ſure and good ſpies for him, eſpecially with regard to Spain and Portugal."

Upon this the Biſhop tells this ſtory, which he had from the Lord Broghill, then Earl of Orrery: That as that Earl was once walking with Cromwell in one of the galleries of Whitehall, a man almoſt in rags appeared in view; upon which he immediately diſmiſſed the Earl, and took that perſon with him into his cloſet; who told him of a great ſum of money, that the Spaniards were ſending over in a Dutch man of war, to pay their army in Flanders; and alſo whereabouts in the ſhip the ſaid money was repoſited. The Protector then immediately ſent an expreſs to Smith (afterwards Sir Jeremy Sith) who lay in the Downs, informing him,

him, "That within a day or two such a Dutch ship would pass the channel, which he must search for the Spanish money, which was contraband goods; his Highness being then at war with Spain. Accordingly, when the ship passed by Dover, Smith sent and demanded leave to search him. The Dutch captain returned him this answer, "That none but his masters might search him:" Upon which, Smith sent him word again, "That he had set up an hour-glass, and if he did not submit to the search before it was run out, he would force him." The captain seeing it was in vain to struggle, submitted in time, and so all the money was found. And the next time his Highness saw the Lord Orrery, he told him, he had his intelligence from that seemingly forlorn man he saw him go to some days before.

The lords commissioners of the great seal, were Sir Thomas Widdrington, Whitelock, and Lisle; and William Lenthal, Esq; was master of the Rolls. Widdrington, Whitelock, and Lenthal, made their exceptions against executing an ordinance of the Lord Protector and his council, "For the better regulating and limiting the high court of Chancery:" Upon which his Highness, not enduring his authority or his acts should be disputed, sent for them to the council-chamber, and there required them to lay down the seal and withdraw. He kept it a few days in his own hands, and then gave it to major Lisle, one of the former commissioners, and colonel Fiennes. And that Widdrington and Whitelock, the ejected commissioners, might not be too much disgusted, his Highness appointed them commissioners of the treasury; and he continued Lenthal in his favour for past services.

About this time the Lord Protector and his council appointed a committee of trade, to consider how to improve, order and regulate the trade

and

and navigation of the commonwealth. This was an affair of great importance to the nation, and his Highneſs was very earneſt and intent upon it.

As the Protector's power was very great at home, ſo his influence was no leſs conſiderable abroad. About this time an Ambaſſador Extraordinary from Sweden came over in great pomp and ſtate, and with much ceremony and ſolemnity had his audience of his Highneſs in the Banqueting-houſe at Whitehall. The Ambaſſador ſpake in the Swediſh language, and his ſecretary interpreted what he ſaid in Latin. When he had done, the Lord Protector ſtood ſtill for ſome time, and then putting off his hat to the Ambaſſador, with a carriage full of gravity and ſtate, he anſwered him in Engliſh as follows:

"My Lord Ambaſſador, I have great reaſon to acknowledge, with thankfulneſs, the reſpects and good affection of the King your maſter towards this commonwealth, and towards myſelf in particular; whereof I ſhall always retain a very grateful memory, and ſhall be ready upon all occaſions to manifeſt the high ſenſe and value I have of his Majeſty's friendſhip and alliance. My Lord, you are very welcome into England; and during your abode here, you ſhall find all due regard and reſpect to be given to your perſon, and to the buſineſs about which you come. I am very willing to enter into a nearer and more ſtrict alliance and friendſhip with the King of Swedeland, as that which in my judgment will tend much to the honour and commodity of both nations, and to the general advantage of the Proteſtant intereſt. I ſhall nominate ſome perſons, to meet and treat with your Lordſhip upon ſuch particulars as you ſhall communicate to them."

The Protector's greateſt difficulty in his foreign affairs, was, which ſide to chuſe, France or Spain. The latter offered, that if his Highneſs would join

with

with them, they would engage themſelves to make no peace, till he ſhould recover Calais again to the Engliſh. The Protector was very well pleaſed with this, thinking it would recommend him much to the nation, to reſtore that town again to the Engliſh empire, after it had been a hundred years poſſeſſed by the French. Cardinal Mazarine having intelligence of this offer made by the Spaniards, that he might outbid them, promiſed, in caſe the Protector would join with France, to aſſiſt him in taking of Dunkirk, a place of much more importance. His Highneſs was ſtill for ſome time in ſuſpence, but that which inclined him very much to join with France, was this; he ſaw that if France ſhould aſſiſt the King or his brother with an army of Hugonots, to make a deſcent into England (which was threatened would be the caſe if he joined with Spain) this might be of very dangerous conſequence to him who had ſo many enemies at home, and ſo few friends; whereas the Spaniards could give thoſe Princes no ſtrength, nor had they any Proteſtant ſubjects to aſſiſt them in ſuch an enterprize. This conſideration made a great impreſſion on him; and whilſt he was caſting in his mind what was fit to be done, one Gage, formerly a prieſt, came over from the Weſt-Indies, and gave him ſuch a relation of the weakneſs, as well as of the riches of the Spaniards in thoſe parts, that he concluded it would be both an important and eaſy conqueſt to ſeize on their dominions there. By this he hoped to ſupply himſelf with ſuch a treaſure, that his government would be eſtabliſhed, before he ſhould need to have any recourſe to a parliament for money. And as the Spaniards would never admit of a peace with England between the Tropicks, he was in a ſtate of of war with them as to thoſe parts, even before he declared war againſt them in Europe. Upon this, he prepared a fleet, with a force ſufficient, as he thought,

thought to have ſeized Hiſpaniola and Cuba; Gage having aſſured him, that ſucceſs in that expedition would ſoon make him maſter of all the reſt. When the time of ſetting out this fleet came on, all men wondered whither it ſhould be deſigned. Some imagined it was to rob the church of Loretto; and this apprehenſion occaſioned a fortification to be drawn round it: Others talked of Rome itſelf; for the Protector's preachers often gave out, "That if it were not for the diviſions at home, he would go and ſack Babylon." Others thought the deſign was againſt Cadiz, tho' he had not yet broke with Spain. The French knew nothing of the ſecret; and the Protector not having finiſhed his alliance with them, was not obliged to impart to them the reaſon of his preparations. All he ſaid about it was this, "That he ſent out the fleet to guard the ſeas, and to reſtore England to its dominion on that element."

This fleet conſiſting of about thirty men of war, under the command of vice-admiral Penn, with about four thouſand land-ſoldiers, to be commanded by Venables, ſet ſail in the beginning of this year, directly for Barbadoes, where the two commanders were ordered to break open their commiſſions. Being ſafely arrived there, and new men taken in to increaſe the land army, they ſailed to the iſland of Hiſpaniola. Coming about the middle of April before Sancto Domingo, the chief port of that country, Venables landed his men in an ill place, different from the orders he had received from the Lord Protector, and marched them thro' ſuch thick woods and uneaſy paſſages, that the Spaniards, with a very unequal number, beat them back. After this they advanced again towards the town, taking Negroes for their guides, who led them into an ambuſcade; ſo that they were again ſhamefully repulſed to the bay where they landed, with the loſs of major-general Haines, and above

Ill ſucceſs at Hiſpaniola.

six hundred men. They were soon forced to reimbark; and then, to make some amends for this unhappy miscarriage, they made another descent on the island of Jamaica, and obtained an easy possession of it; which island has ever since remained in the hands of the English: Where leaving a good body of foot to secure it, they sailed back to England. The Lord Protector was never so much disturbed as at this disaster at Hispaniola; so that Penn and Venables were no sooner come on shore, but he committed them both to the Tower, and could never be prevailed on to trust either of them again.

Takes Jamaica.

Blake's success.

About the same time that Penn and Venables set out on this unfortunate expedition, admiral Blake sailed with another fleet into the Mediterranean, to scour those seas of the Turkish pirates; and not meeting with any of them, he bravely resolved to seek them out in their ports. He came first before Algiers, and sending to the Dey, demanded that all the English ships might be restored, and all the English slaves released. The Dey hereupon sent a rich present to Blake, with some store of fresh provisions, and gave him to understand, "That the ships and captives already taken belonged to private men, therefore not so much in his power; but yet they should be restored at a moderate ransom; and if the admiral thought good, they would conclude a peace, and for the future offer no acts of violence to any of the English ships and natives." A peace being accordingly concluded, Blake sailed from thence to Tunis, where, having made the same demand as at Algiers, instead of the like submission, he received this resolute answer; "That there were their castles of Goletta, and their ships and castles of Porto-Ferino; he might do his worst, for he should not think to fright them with the sight of his fleet." Provoked at this answer, Blake resolved without

without any delay or loſs of time, to deſtroy their ſhips in Porto-Ferino. Accordingly they manned their long-boats with ſtout ſeamen, and ſent them into the harbour to fire thoſe ſhips, whilſt the admiral himſelf, with all his fleet, thundered moſt furiouſly with his cannon againſt their caſtles. The ſeamen, in the mean time, ſo bravely performed their parts, that all the nine Turkiſh ſhips of war were ſoon reduced to aſhes, with the loſs of only twenty-five men, and forty-eight wounded, on the Engliſh ſide. Theſe were actions of the higheſt conduct and courage, which made the Engliſh name very formidable in thoſe parts.

There was another reaſon of Blake's ſailing into the Mediterranean, which was, to demand ſatisfaction of all princes and ſtates, that had moleſted the Engliſh in the time of war and confuſion at home. Accordingly, among other places, he ſailed to Leghorn, and diſpatched his ſecretary to demand of the Great Duke of Tuſcany 600001. for damages ſuſtained by the Engliſh in his dutchy; Prince Rupert having taken and ſold as many Engliſh ſhips, as amounted to that value, to the Great Duke's ſubjects. The ſaid duke was willing to pay part of the ſum, and deſired time to conſult the Pope about the reſt. Blake ſaid the Pope had nothing to do with it, and he would have the whole ſum, which was paid him, 35000 Spaniſh, and 25000 Italian piſtoles. The Duke pretended that the Pope ought to pay part of the damage, ſome of the ſhips having been ſold to his ſubjects; accordingly the next ſucceeding Pope repaid the Great Duke 20000 piſtoles. Admiral Blake ſent home ſixteen ſhips laden with the effects he had received from ſeveral ſtates for ſatisfaction and damages, and they were ordered to ſail up the Thames together, for a pleaſing ſpectacle to the people.

The Protector concludes an alliance with France.

The King of Spain, provoked at the late attempt upon his dominions in the West-Indies, declared war against England; and the Protector, on the other hand, dispatched orders to admiral Blake, to watch the return of the Spanish plate-fleet, and make what destruction he could upon the coasts of Spain; and thought fit now to finish his alliance with France, sending Lockhart his ambassador thither for that end. His Highness undertook to send over an army of 6000 foot; and when the forts in Dunkirk and Mardyke should be taken, they were to be put into his hands: And the French King likewise obliged himself, by this treaty, not to permit King Charles, nor his brothers, nor any of his relations and adherents, excepting the Queen-mother, to remain in any part of his dominions.

1656. Two great actions of Cromwell in favour of the Protestants.

About this time, the Protector had two signal occasions given him, to exercise his charity, and display his power, and shew his zeal in protecting the Protestants abroad. The Duke of Savoy raised a new persecution of the Vaudois, cruelly murdering and massacring many of them, and driving the rest from their dwellings into the mountains. Upon this the Protector sent to Mazarine, desiring him to put a stop to these proceedings; adding, "That he knew well they had the Duke in their power, and could restrain him as they pleased; and if they did not, he must presently break with them." The Cardinal objected to this, as unreasonable: He promised to do good offices; but said, he could not answer for the effects. However, nothing would satisfy the Protector, till they obliged the Duke of Savoy to restore all he had unjustly taken from his protestant subjects, and to renew all their former privileges. For which purpose also he wrote to the Duke of Savoy himself, tho' he had otherwise no concern with him. But the title of Royal Highness being by mistake omitted on the letter,

letter, the major part of the council of Savoy was for returning it back unopened; but the marquess de Pianezza representing to them, that Cromwell was as haughty as he was powerful, and would not pass by such an affront; that he would certainly lay Villa Franca in ashes, and set the Swiss Protestant Cantons upon Savoy; the letter was read; which, together with the Cardinal's influence, had the desired success. The Lord Protector also raised a great sum of money for the Vaudois, and sent over Moreland to settle all their affairs, and supply all their losses.

The other instance was this: There happened a tumult at Nismes, in which the Hugonots had committed some disorder; who being apprehensive of very severe proceeding upon it, sent one over with great secresy and expedition to the Lord Protector Cromwell, to desire his interposition and protection. This express found so good a reception the first hour he came, that his Highness having received the whole account, bad him, "Refresh himself after so long a journey, and he would take such care of his business, that by the time he came to Paris, he should find it dispatched." Accordingly, that night he dispatched an agent with a letter to the Cardinal, and one inclosed for the King. The letter to the Cardinal was in Latin; to which he added this postscript in French with his own hand; "Je viens d' apprendre la revolte des habitants de Nismes. Je recommande a votre eminence les interets des reformez." "I have heard of the tumult at Nismes: I recommend to your eminence the interests of the reformed." He also sent instructions to his Ambassador Lockhart, requiring him either to prevail that the matter might be passed over, or to come away immediately. The Cardinal complained of this way of proceeding; but the necessity of their affairs made him comply. These things raised the Protector's

character

character abroad, and cauſed him to be much depended on.

The Protector having concluded the treaty with France, reſolved now on a vigorous proſecution of the war with Spain. For this purpoſe, admiral Blake, and Montague, afterwards Earl of Sandwich, were ordered with a ſtrong navy to block up the port of Cadiz. Here they lay ſeveral weeks, but could not provoke the enemy to come out and fight, till want of water and other neceſſaries obliged them to ſail to Wyer's-bay in Portugal for freſh ſupplies; captain Stayner, in the mean time, being left behind with ſeven ſhips; who, whilſt the commanders were gone to the forementioned place, eſpied the Spaniſh plate fleet making directly for Cadiz, and reſolved to fall upon it; which, with the Speaker, Bridgewater, and Plymouth frigates, whilſt the reſt were behind, he ſo bravely performed, that in a few hours the whole fleet was quite ſpoiled. One ſhip was ſunk, another burned, in which the marqueſs of Bajadox, vice-roy of Mexico, with his lady and eldeſt daughter, periſhed in the flames; two were forced on ground, one run away, and two remained in the conqueror's hands; which being brought to Portſmouth, the bullion, to the value of above two millions, was there landed, and conveyed in carts to London, as a trophy and triumph of war.

The Spaniſh plate-fleet deſtroyed by the Engliſh.

The Protector being now in the height of his glory, reſolved to call a parliament; to which it was thought by ſome he could have no other motive or inducement, than to make a party for a crown, and get the title of KING conferred on him, which was the only thing he wanted; for as to the power of a King, he was really more formidable than any of the Engliſh Monarchs ever were. But others think the neceſſary expences of the Spaniſh war was the main occaſion of it. Whatever his deſign was, a parliament was to be ſummoned,

ſummoned, and writs were iſſued throughout the three nations for election of members for that purpaſe; in which all endeavours were uſed to hinder thoſe from being choſen, who were moſt likely to obſtruct the Protector's deſigns: For this reaſon the preſident Bradſhaw, Sir Henry Vane, lieutenant-general Ludlow, and others, were ſummoned before the council; and after conſultation, upon their refuſing to give ſecurity not to act againſt the government, Sir Henry Vane was ſent priſoner to Cariſbrook caſtle, Ludlow was ordered to be taken into cuſtody, and Bradſhaw, though permitted to go his circuit, as chief juſtice of Cheſter, had letters ſent after him to deter perſons from giving their votes for him.

A new parliament ſummoned.

Having mentioned lieutenant-general Ludlow's being taken into cuſtody, we ſhall conclude this chapter with an account of what paſſed between him and the Protector at the council-table, previous thereunto. When he appeared before the council according to ſummons, his Highneſs charged him with diſperſing treaſonable books in Ireland, and with endeavouring to render the officers of the army diſaffected, by diſcourſing to them about new models of government. Ludlow confeſſed he had cauſed ſome papers to be diſperſed in Ireland, but ſaid they could not juſtly be called treaſonable; and that though he knew not it was a crime to debate concerning forms of government, yet, to the beſt of his remembrance, he had not lately done any ſuch thing. The Protector then told him, he was not ignorant of the many plots that were carrying on to diſturb the preſent power; and he thought it his duty to ſecure ſuch as he ſuſpected. To which Ludlow replied, that there were two duties required by God of the magiſtrate, viz. To be a terror to evil-doers, and a praiſe to them that do well; and whether his actions were good or bad, he was ready to ſubmit to a legal

trial;

trial: That he knew no other way to ſecure the magiſtrate from being afraid of the people, or the people from the dread of the magiſtrate, but by both doing what is juſt and good. "You do well, ſaid the Protector, to reflect on our fears; yet I would have you know, that what I do, proceeds not from any motive of fear, but from a timely prudence to foreſee and prevent danger; and had I done as I ſhould, I had ſecured you immediately upon your coming into England, or at leaſt when you deſired to be freed from the engagement you had given after your arrival: And therefore I now require you to give aſſurance not to act againſt the government." The lieutenant-general deſired to be excuſed as to that, remembring him of the reaſons he had formerly given for his refuſal; and added, that he was in his power, and he might uſe him as he thought fit. "Pray then, ſaid Cromwell, what is it that you would have? May not every man be as good as he will? What can you deſire more than you have?" "It were eaſy, anſwered Ludlow, to tell what we would have." "What is that I pray?" replied the Protector. "That which we fought for, ſaid Ludlow, That the nation might be governed by its own conſent." "I am, ſaid the other, as much for a government by conſent as any man; but where ſhall we find that conſent? amongſt the prelatical, preſbyterian, independent, anabaptiſt, or levelling parties?" To which Ludlow anſwered, "Amongſt theſe of all ſorts who have acted with fidelity and affection to the publick." The Protector then fell to commending the preſent government, extolling the protection and quiet which the people enjoyed under it; and ſaid, "he was reſolved to keep the nation from being imbrued in blood." Ludlow ſaid, He thought too much blood had been already ſhed, unleſs there were a better account of it. "You do well, replied the Protector, to charge us with the guilt of blood;

blood; but we think there is a good return for what hath been shed; and we understand what clandestine correspondences are carrying on at this time between the Spaniards and those of your party, who make use of your name, and affirm that you will own them and assist them." Ludlow told him, he knew not what he meant by his party, and he could truly say, that if any had entered into an engagement with Spain, they had no advice from him so to do; and if they would use his name, he could not help it. His Highness then in a softer way, told him, "That he desired not to put any more hardships on him than on himself, that he had been always ready to do him all the good offices that lay in his power, and that he aimed at nothing by this proceeding but the publick quiet and security." "Truly, Sir, said the other, I know not why you should be an enemy to me, who have been faithful to you in all your difficulties." Upon which the Protector said, "I understand not what you mean by my difficulties: I am sure they were not so properly mine as those of the publick; for, in respect to my outward condition, I have not much improved it, as these gentlemen (pointing to his council) well know." To this they appeared to assent, by rising from their seats; and therefore Ludlow (as he tells us) thought fit not to insist farther on that point; but contented himself to say, that it was from that duty which he owed to the public, whereof the Protector expressed so great regard, that he durst not give the security he desired; apprehending it to be against the liberty of the people and contrary to law: For proof of which he produced an act of parliament, "For restraing the council from imprisoning any of the free-born people of England; and if they should do so, requiring the Justices of the Upper Bench, upon application of the aggrieved party, to

grant his Habeas Corpus, and give him conſiderable damages." "But, ſaid the Protector, did not the army and council of ſtate commit perſons to priſon?" To this Ludlow anſwered, that the council of ſtate did ſo, but it was by virtue of an authority granted to them by the parliament; and if the army had ſometimes acted in that manner, it had been in time of war, and then only in order to bring the perſons ſecured to a legal trial. "A juſtice of peace, ſaid Cromwell, may commit, and and ſhall not I?" Ludlow told him, a juſtice of peace was a legal officer, and authorized by the law to do ſo; which he could not do, though he were King, becauſe if he did wrong therein, no remedy could be had againſt him. "Therefore, ſaid he, if I have offended againſt the law, I deſire to be referred to a juſtice of the peace, that I may be proceeded with according to law; but if I have done nothing to deſerve a reſtraint, that then I may have my liberty." Upon this, he was ordered to withdraw; and major-general Lambert adviſed, that he might be peremptorily required to give the ſecurity demanded: But the Protector ſaid, "That the air of Ireland was good, that he had a houſe there, and therefore he thought it beſt to ſend him thither." In the end, the lieutenant-general reſolutely refuſing to give the ſaid ſecurity, was ordered to be taken into cuſtody, as before related.

CHAP. VI.

From the meeting of his third Parliament, to his being confirmed Protector by the Humble petition and advice.

ON the 17th day of September the new parliament met his Highneſs the Lord Protector in Weſtminſter-Abby; where Dr. John Owen, vice-chanceſſor of Oxford, preached a ſermon on theſe words in Iſaiah, "What ſhall one then anſwer the meſſengers of the nation? That the Lord hath founded Zion, and the poor of his people ſhall truſt in it." This being over, the Protector with the members went to the Painted-chamber, where he made a ſhort ſpeech to them, and then diſmiſſed them to their houſe: But here they found a guard placed, and none were ſuffered to enter but ſuch as had certificates given them in this form, "Theſe are to certify, that A. B. is returned by indenture one of the members to ſerve in this preſent parliament, for ——, and approved by his Highneſs's council." By this means near a hundred members were excluded, who thereupon preſented a petition to the ſitting members, declaring, "That being choſen by the country to ſerve with them, they were ready to diſcharge their duty; but were prevented from doing ſo by the power of the ſword, and refuſed admittance into the houſe by a guard of ſoldiers." Upon this, a committee being ſent to the Protector and his council, returned with this anſwer, "That if the perſons complaining would apply themſelves to them, they ſhould be relieved if there was cauſe." The excluded members therefore ſeeing no redreſs, appealed to the people in a ſevere remonſtrance, or proteſtation, complaining, "That the Lord Protector had by force of arms invaded their fundamental right

and liberty, and violently prevented the meeting of the people's choſen deputies in parliament; and concluding with an appeal to God and all the good people of England for aſſiſtance and protection in their ſervice, &c."

The ſitting members made choice of Sir Thomas Widdrington for their Speaker; and 'twas very ſoon perceived that they were diſpoſed to act according to the Protector's mind. On the fifth of October they reſolved, "That the war againſt the Spaniards was undertaken upon juſt and neceſſary ground, and for the good of the people of the commonwealth, and that the parliament doth approve thereof, and will by God's bleſſing aſſiſt his Highneſs therein." They then proceeded to paſs ſeveral acts; as, "1. An act that paſſing of bills ſhould not determine this preſent ſeſſion of parliament. 2. An act for renouncing and diſannulling the pretended title of Charles Stuart. 3. An act for ſecurity of his Highneſs the Lord Protector his perſon, and continuance of the nation in peace and ſafety; whereby it was made high-treaſon to compaſs, attempt, or imagine the death of the Protector. 4. An act for taking away the court of Wards and Liveries. 5. An act for the exportation of ſeveral commodities of the breed, growth and manufacture of this commonwealth." And farther, to make good what they had reſolved, great ſums of money were granted to carry on the Spaniſh war. For this purpoſe, an act was paſſed "For an aſſeſſment of 60,000 l. a month for three months upon England; another for 5000 l. a month for the ſame time, on Scotland; and the ſame on Ireland." There was alſo another act paſſed, "For 30,000 l. a month for England, 6000 l. a month for Scotland, and 5000 l. a month for Ireland, to be paid for three whole years next enſuing." Another, "For continuing of tonnage and poundage." And another, (which was the

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revival of an old act) "For preventing multiplicity of buildings in and about the ſuburbs of London, and within ten miles thereof; a whole year's revenue to be preſently paid for all houſes which had been built upon new foundations ſince the year 1620."

Theſe bills, with ſeveral others, were at ſeveral times paſſed by the Protector, coming in ſtate as a Sovereign to the Painted-chamber. And when the money-bills with ſome others were paſſed, he made this ſhort ſpeech to the Speaker: "I perceive, that among theſe many acts of parliament, there hath been a very great care had by the parliament, to provide for the juſt and neceſſary ſupport of the commonwealth, by theſe bills for levying of money, now brought to me, which I have given my conſent unto: And underſtanding it hath been the practice of thoſe who have been chief governors, to acknowledge with thanks to the commons their care and regard of the publick, I do very heartily and thankfully acknowledge their kindneſs herein."

The parliament had not ſat two months when the exhorbitant powers of the major-generals came under conſideration. The Protector had hitherto given them good words; but fearing they might in time eclipſe his own greatneſs, he was now for ſuppreſſing their authority. And ſo Mr. Claypole his ſon-in-law ſtood up, (which was an unuſual thing with him) and told the houſe, "That he could but ſtart the game, and muſt leave thoſe who had more experience to follow the chace; and therefore ſhould only ſay, that he had formerly thought it neceſſary, in reſpect to the condition in which the nation had been, that the major-generals ſhould be entruſted with the authority they had exerciſed; but in the preſent ſtate of affairs, he conceived it inconſiſtent with the laws of England and liberties of the people, to continue their power any longer." This motion was a clear direction

The major-generals put down.

ſection to the court party in the houſe; who being well aſſured, that Cleypole had delivered the ſenſe, if not the very words of the Protector therein, joined as one man in oppoſing and aboliſhing the power of theſe major-generals.

About this time, one James Naylor, a late ſoldier under general Lambert, took upon him to perſonate our Saviour, reſembling his picture in his garb, hair, and looks. He went about with diſciples, and women miniſtering unto him, and entered the city of Briſtol, riding upon an aſs, his followers ſtrewing his way with leaves and boughs of trees, and crying, Hoſanna, bleſſed is he who cometh in the name of the Lord. He alſo pretended he could heal the ſick, raiſe the dead, and faſt forty days, and gave no other anſwer to any queſtion, but, Thou haſt ſaid it. The magiſtrates of Briſtol ſent him up to the parliament, who reſolved, "That James Naylor was guilty of horrid blaſphemy, and a great ſeducer of the people;" and inſtead of ſending him to Bedlam, which would have been the propereſt place for him, they ordered the Speaker to pronounce this ſevere ſentence againſt him, viz. "To ſtand in the pillory for two hours at Weſtminſter; to be whipped by the hangman from Weſtminſter to the Old Exchange, and there to ſtand in the pillory two hours more; his tongue to be bored through with a hot iron, and his forehead ſtigmatized with the letter B; to be afterwards ſent to Briſtol, and conveyed through the city on a horſe bare-backed, and his face backward, and his body whipped in the market-place; to be brought back to London, and committed to priſon in Bridewell, and there to be kept from all company, and to have no relief, but what he ſhould earn from hard labour; and being debarred the uſe of pen, ink paper, to be kept to continual work, till he ſhould be diſcharged by the parliament." Whitelock ſays, many thought he was too

too furiously prosecuted by some rigid men. And we must observe likewise, that the above account, which is the most usual that is given of his heresies and blasphemies, is denied by the body of Quakers, who represent him as a plain man, of great zeal, and no great capacity.

About this time, there was a new discovery made of a desperate plot against the Protector's person; which made the acts passed for his security be judged highly seasonable. Miles Syndercomb, a Leveller, having been cashiered in Scotland, combined with one Cecil and one Troop, of his Highness's life-guard, to assassinate the Protector, near Brentford, as he was going to Hampton-Court. Syndercomb, being betrayed by the other conspirators, stoutly denied the plot, but was condemned upon the statute of 26 Edw. III. the chief justice Glyn declaring it treason in case of a Protector, as well as a King, since by the word King any chief magistrate was understood. The prisoner was found dead, when the day appointed for his execution came; whereupon his body was dragged naked by a horse's tail to the scaffold on Tower-hill, and there buried, with a stake driven through it. The Protector was very much disturbed at this accident; for instead of bringing this man to make some useful discovery to him, as he expected, he found himself under the reproach of causing him to be poisoned, as being afraid to bring him to publick justice. However a day of publick thanksgiving was appointed for the Protector's deliverance; when, after a sermon at St. Margaret's Westminster, his Highness treated the Speaker and Members in the Banquetting-house at Whitehall, with more than ordinary marks of endearment. Syndercomb's plot.

On the 6th of February there was a great meeting of learned men at Whitelock's house at Chelsea, pursuant to this order of parliament: Ordered, "That it be reserved to a committee to send for, and

and advise with Dr. Walton, Mr. Hughes, Mr. Castle, Mr Clerk, Mr. Poulk, Dr. Cudworth, and those they shall think fit, and to consider of the translations and impressions of the bible, and offer their opinions therein." And about a week after, Dr. Walton published the Polyglott bible.

Design of making Cromwell King.

The parliament had sat about six months, when the debate came on in the house about changing Cromwell's title of Protector into that of King. A new instrument was drawn up, and read in the house, having a blank left for the title of the single person, and two other blanks for two houses of parliament. This was brought in by Mr. Pack, a rich alderman of London, who was supposed to be very much in the court interest; and when it came to be debated, 'twas sharply opposed by the soldiers party in the house; who joining with the Republicans, fell so furiously upon Pack for his presumption and unparliamentary proceeding, that they bore him down from the Speaker's chair to the bar of the house. But this heat lasted not long; for the lord Broghill, chief justice Glynn, and others who were privy to the main design, alledging, "That being masters of their own resolutions, they might retain as much of this new form as was good, and reject what was otherwise;" they by this means brought it to debate. And tho' they met with some opposition therein, yet when it came to be put to the question, they carried all before them, and grew so bold as to move, "That the blank left for the insertion of title of the chief magistrate might be filled up with the name of King:" Which motion, tho' very much opposed by lieutenant-general Fleetwood, was likewise carried, and the name voted, together with the filling up the two blanks left for the two houses, with the words House of Commons, and Other House.

This done, on the 4th of April they presented this writing to the Lord Protector, which was stiled

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"The humble petition and advice of the parliament of England, Scotland and Ireland, to his Highneſs;" at which time the Speaker, Sir Thomas Widdrington, made a ſpeech to him, recommending "the title and office of a King, as ſettled here with Chriſtianity itſelf, approved and retained by our anceſtors, and every way fitted to the laws and temper of the people of England." The Protector, however inclinable he was to accept of this offer, yet finding it to be againſt the humour and bent of the army, and the chief officers of it, and that his ſon-in-law Fleetwood, and his brother-in-law Deſborough were particularly averſe to it, inſtead of a ready aſſent, thought fit to demur upon it; and the better to protract time, in hopes of gaining upon the officers, he deſired, "That a committee might be appointed to confer with him, and to offer him better knowlede and ſatisfaction in this great cauſe."

A committee was accordingly appointed, which on April 11, met him in the Painted-chamber. Whitelock was chairman, and the chief ſpeakers beſides him were, the lord Broghill, chief juſtice St. John, chief juſtice Glynn, the lords commiſſioners Fiennes and Liſle, Lenthal maſter of the rolls, Sir Charles Wolſley, Sir Richard Onſlow, and colonel Jones. Theſe for two diſtinct days ſucceſſively entertained the Protector with long ſpeeches, endeavouring to perſuade him to accept of the title of King, which the parliament had offered him. Their arguments were principally theſe: "That the name of a Protector, as he held it, was unknown to the Engliſh conſtitution; but the title of King had the only foundation in the ancient and known laws of the nation, was interwoven with our laws, and ſuited to the genius of the people: That it was the head from whence all the nerves and ſinews of the government proceeded; and if a new head was put on, it was a queſtion,

whether thoſe nerves and ſinews would grow and receive nouriſhment: That for him to take up the office of King, without the title, was to take it up with all the objections of ſcandal: That the King, the Laws of the nation, the Liberties of the people, and alſo Parliaments themſelves, had but one foundation, and that the end of the late war was not to deſtroy Kingſhip, as appeared by ſix or ſeven of the parliament's declarations, one of which was ordered to be read in all churches." His Highneſs anſwered, That theſe arguments were cogent, but not ſatisfactory; that the title of Protector might be adapted to the laws; that providence was againſt them, that had already altered the name; and that he were much to be blamed, if he ſhould diſpleaſe ſo many pious and religious men, who would take offence at ſuch a proceeding." The commitee replied, "That the title ought to be accommodated to the laws, and not the laws to the title: That the innovation of title was ſuſpected, as being the cover of hidden tyranny, and that the inconveniencies of ſuch change were not preſently felt; for which very reaſon, it was by the parliament denied to King James, when he came firſt to this kingdom, to change the title of King of England and Scotland, into that of Great Britain: That by refuſing the title of King, he would not ſo much derogate from his own honour, as from the nation's, for whoſe honour it was to have a King for the ſupreme governor: That under the name of Protector was never deſigned the ſupreme moderator, but a temporary officer for guarding the King in his minority, and adminiſtring of the kingdom; and that generally ſuch had been unfortunate: That that appellation having at this time ſprung from the ſoldiers, favoured of conqueſt, and might with very good reaſon be reſcinded by the parliament. That without the title of King the government would be unſtable and flitting, and would

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not long ſtand, being on a tottering foundation; as it had been changed three or four times in theſe five years, and did ſtill fluctuate: That this had been the great encouragement of thoſe attempts againſt his perſon, that the law did not take notice of him as chief magiſtrate; and that juries were generally backward in finding any guilty of treaſon upon that account: But by the laws made in Edward IV. and Henry VII's time, whatever was done by a King in poſſeſſion, was good and valid, and all that ſerved under him were ſafe and exempt from puniſhment. By thoſe laws his enemies had hitherto pleaded indemnity, but by his aſſuming what was deſired, thoſe laws they pretended for their diſobedience, would tie them, even by their own principles, to obedience. That tho' part of the long parliament had taken away Kingſhip, yet now it was ſet up again by a fuller repreſentative of three nations; and ſince the parliament of England, Scotland, and Ireland, had adviſed and deſired him to take upon him the title of King, he ought not in reaſon and equity to refuſe it. That Providence was no leſs conſpicuous in turning the government again into monarchy, for avoiding confuſion, and bridling the tumults of the people, than in changing the name of Monarchy into Protectorſhip: And that good and pious men would acquieſce in the decree of the parliament, altho' perhaps they might ſeem privately to differ." In the end, his Highneſs gratefully acknowledged the kindneſs of the offer, but would not give a preſent anſwer, acquainting the committee, "That he would conſider of all they had ſaid, and ſeek to God for counſel; and then he would ſend for them, and declare his reſolution."

The Protector was now under great difficulties and diſtraction of mind, and many days paſſed before he could come to a reſolution in this weighty affair. Whilſt this buſineſs was in agitation, the

lord Broghill (afterwards earl of Orrery) as biſhop Burnet informs us, coming one day to Cromwell, and telling him he had been in the city, the Protector enquired of him, what news he had heard there. The lord Orrery told him, "He had heard he was in treaty with the King, who was to be reſtored, and to marry his daughter." Cromwell ſhewing no diſpleaſure at this, the earl ſaid, "In the ſtate to which things were reduced, he could ſee no better expedient: They might bring him in on what terms they pleaſed; and his Highneſs might retain the ſame authority he then had, with leſs trouble." To this Cromwell anſwered, "The King can never forgive his father's blood." The earl replied, "He was one of many that were concerned in that, but he would be alone in the merit of reſtoring him:" Upon which the Protector ſaid, "He is ſo damnably debauched, he would undo us all;" and ſo went off to other diſcourſe without any emotion; which made his lordſhip conclude he had often thought of that expedient.

The Protector in the mean time kept himſelf on ſuch a reſerve, that no man knew what anſwer he would give to the parliament's offer, though 'twas thought moſt likely that he would accept of it. He, as Ludlow informs, endeavoured by all poſſible means to perſuade the officers of the army to approve the deſign; for which purpoſe he one time invited himſelf to dine with colonel Deſborough, and carried lieutenant-general Fleetwood with him. He began to droll with them about Monarchy, and ſpeaking ſlightly of it, ſaid, "It was but a feather in a man's cap, and therefore he wondered that men would not pleaſe the children, and let them enjoy their rattle." But they being very ſerious upon the matter, aſſured him, "That there was more in it than he perceived: That thoſe who put him upon it were no enemies to Charles Stuart;

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and if he accepted of it, he would draw on himſelf and friends inevitable ruin." Having thus ſounded them, that he might conclude as he began, he told them, "They were a couple of ſcrupulous fellows," and ſo went away. At another time entering more ſeriouſly into debate with theſe two, he ſaid, "It was a tempting of God to expoſe ſo many worthy men to death and poverty, when there was a certain way to ſecure them." But they inſiſting upon the oaths they had taken, he replied, "That theſe oaths were againſt the power and tyranny of Kings, but not againſt the four letters that made the word KING."

The next day his Highneſs ſent a meſſage to the houſe, requiring their attendance in the Painted-chamber, intending, as all men thought, there to declare his acceptance of the crown: But in the mean time meeting with his brother Deſborough as he was walking in the park, and acquainting him with his reſolution, he received this anſwer from him: "That then he gave the cauſe and his family for loſt? and tho' he reſolved never to act againſt him, yet he would not act for him after that time." And ſo after ſome farther diſcourſe, Deſborough went home, and there found colonel Pride, whom the Protector had knighted; and imparting to him his Highneſs's intention to accept the title of King, Pride immediately anſwered, "He ſhall not." Deſborough aſked him how he would hinder it? Whereupon Pride ſaid, "Get me a petition drawn, and I will prevent it." And ſo they both went to Dr. Owen, and prevailed on him to draw a petition according to their mind.

The next morning the houſe being met, ſome officers of the army coming to the parliament door, ſent in a meſſage to colonel Deſborough, to let him know that they had a petition, and deſired him to preſent it to the houſe. But he knowing the contents of it, and thinking it not proper for him to take

The army petition againſt it.

take publick notice of it before it was preſented, informed the houſe, that certain officers of the army had a petition to preſent to them; and moved that they ſhould be called in, and have leave to preſent it with their own hands; which the houſe generally agreed to, not thinking the army would oppoſe their deſigns. And ſo the petition being delivered by lieutenant-colonel Maſon, was read in the houſe, and was to this effect; "That they had hazarded their lives againſt Monarchy, and were ſtill ready ſo to do, in defence of the liberties of the nation: That having obſerved in ſome men great endeavours to bring the nation under their old ſervitude, by preſſing their general to take upon him the title and government of King, in order to deſtroy him, and weaken the hands of thoſe who were faithful to the publick; they therefore deſired that they would diſcountenance all ſuch perſons and endeavours, and continue ſtedfaſt to the old cauſe, for the preſervation of which they, for their parts, were moſt ready to lay down their lives."

'Tis hard to ſay whether the Parliament or the Protector was moſt ſurprized at this unexpected addreſs. As ſoon as his Highneſs heard of it, he ſent for his ſon-in-law Fleetwood, and told him, "That he wondered he would ſuffer ſuch a petition to proceed ſo far, which he might have hindered, ſince he knew it to be his reſolution not to accept the crown without the conſent of the army; and therefore he deſired him to haſten to the houſe, and to put them off from doing any farther therein." Accordingly the lieutenant-general went immediately thither, and told them, "That the petition ought not to be debated, much leſs to be anſwered at this time, the contents of it being to deſire them not to preſs his Highneſs to be King; whereas the preſent buſineſs was to receive his anſwer to what had been formerly offered to him; and therefore he deſired that the debate of it might be

be put off till they had received his anſwer." The houſe having agreed to this, recieved a meſſage from the Protector, that inſtead of meeting him in the Painted-chamber, where he uſed to ſpeak to them, they ſhould meet him in the Banquetting-houſe; whither being accordingly come, his Highneſs made a broken kind of ſpeech to them, as follows:

His ſpeech to the parliament.

"Mr. Speaker, I came hither to anſwer that that was in your laſt paper to your committee you ſent to me, which was in relation to the deſires which were offered to me by the houſe, in that they called their petition. I confeſs that buſineſs hath put the houſe, the parliament, to a great deal of trouble, and ſpent much time; I am very ſorry that it hath coſt me ſome and ſome thoughts; and becauſe I have been the unhappy occaſion of the expence of ſo much time, I ſhall ſpend little of it now. I have, the beſt I can, reſolved the whole buſineſs in my thoughts, and have ſaid ſo much already in teſtimony of the whole, that I think I ſhall not need to repeat any thing that I have ſaid. I think it is a government that the aims of it ſeeks much a ſettling the nation on a good foot in relation to civil rights and liberties, which are the rights of the nation; and I hope I ſhall never be found to be of them that ſhall go about to rob the nation of thoſe rights, but to ſerve them what I can to the attaining of them. It hath alſo exceeding well provided for the ſafety and ſecurity of honeſt men, in that great, natural, and religious liberty, which is liberty of conſcience. Theſe are great fundamentals, and I muſt bear my teſtimony to them (as I have and ſhall do ſtill, ſo long as God lets me live in this world) that the intentions of the things are very honourable and honeſt, and the product of a worthy parliament: I have only had the unhappineſs both in my conferences with your committees, and in the beſt thoughts I could take

take to myſelf, not to be convicted of the neceſſity of that thing that hath been inſiſted upon by you, to wit, the title of King, as in itſelf ſo neceſſary, as it ſeems to be apprehended by yourſelves; and I do, with all honour and reſpect to the judgment of the parliament, teſtify that (*cæteris paribus*) no private judgment is to lie in the balance with the judgment of a parliament: But in things that reſpect particular perſons, every man that is to give an account to God of his actions, muſt in ſome meaſure be able to prove his own work, and to have an approbation in his own conſcience of that he is to do, or forbear; and whilſt you are granting others liberties, ſurely you will not deny me this, it being not only a liberty, but a duty, (and ſuch a duty as I cannot without ſinning forbear) to examine my own heart, and thoughts, and judgment, in every work which I am to ſet mine hand to, or to appear in or for.

" I muſt confeſs, therefore, that though I do acknowledge all the other, yet I muſt be a little confident in this; that what with the circumſtances that accompany human actions, whether they be circumſtances of time or perſons, whether circumſtances that relate to the whole, or private or particular circumſtances that compaſs any perſon, that is to render an account of his own actions; I have truly thought, and do ſtill think, that if I ſhould (at the beſt) do any thing on this account to anſwer your expectation, it would be at the beſt doubtingly; and certainly what is ſo, is not of faith; whatever is not of faith is ſin to him that doth it, whether it be with relation to the ſubſtance of the action, about which the conſideration is converſant, or whether to circumſtances about it, which make all think indifferent actions good or evil to him that doth it. I lying under this conſideration, think it my duty, only I could wiſh I had done it ſooner, for the ſake of the houſe, who have

have laid so infinite obligations on me; I wish I had done it sooner for your sake, for saving time and trouble; and indeed for the committee's sake, to whom I must acknowledge publickly I have been unseasonably troublesome; I say, I could have wished I had given it sooner; but truly this is my answer, that although I think the government doth consist of very excellent parts in all but one thing, the Title; as to me, I should not be an honest man, if I should not tell you, that I cannot accept of the government, nor undertake the trouble and charge of it, which I have a little more experimented than every man, what troubles and difficulties do befal men under such trusts and in such undertakings; I say, I am persuaded to return this answer to you, That I cannot undertake this government with the title of a King; and that is mine answer to this great and weighty business."

1657. He refuses the title.

Thus Cromwell, on the 8th of May, refused the title of King: And the parliament soon voted, "That he should enjoy the title and authority he had already;" which was in many particulars enlarged beyond what it was by the former Instrument, by the new one, called "The humble petition and advice." This instrument consisted of eighteen articles; but we shall only give the substance of the chief ones, as follows: "That his Highness, under the title of Lord Protector, would be pleased to exercise the office of chief magistrate over England, Scotland, and Ireland, &c. and to govern according to all things in this petition and advice: Also, that in his life-time he would appoint the person that should succeed in the government after his death. That he would call parliaments consisting of two houses, once in three years at farthest. That those persons who were legally chosen by a free election of the people to serve in parliament, might not be excluded from doing their duties, but by consent of that house whereof

they were members. That none but thoſe under the qualifications therein mentioned, ſhould be capable to ſerve as members in parliament. That the power of the other houſe be limited as therein preſcribed. That the laws and ſtatutes of the land be obſerved and kept; and no laws altered, ſuſpended, abrogated, or repealed, or new laws made, but by act of parliament. That the yearly ſum of a million of pounds ſterling be for the maintenance of the navy and army; and three hundred thouſand pounds for the ſupport of the government, beſides other temporary ſupplies, as the commons in parliament ſhould ſee neceſſary. That the number of the Protector's council ſhould not be above one and twenty; whereof the quorum to be ſeven and not under. The chief officers of ſtate, as chancellors, keepers of the great ſeal, &c. to be approved by parliament. That his Highneſs would encourage a godly miniſtry in theſe nations; and that ſuch as do revile or diſturb them in the worſhip of God, may be puniſhed according to law; and where the laws are defective, new ones to be made in that behalf. That the Proteſtant Chriſtian religion, as it is contained in the Old and New Teſtaments, be aſſerted and held forth for the publick profeſſion of theſe nations; and that a confeſſion of faith be agreed upon and recommended to the people of theſe nations; and none be permitted by words or writings, to revile or reproach the ſaid confeſſion of faith, &c."

This Inſtrument being digeſted and agreed upon, the houſe ſent to the Protector for an audience; which he appointed to be on the 25th of May, in the banquetting-houſe. The members waiting upon him accordingly, their Speaker Widdrington preſented and read the ſaid Inſtrument to him, and deſired his aſſent; which, after a long pauſe, he with all the geſtures of concern and perplexity, granted; and then declared to them as follows:

"That

"That he came thither that day, not as to a triumph, but with the moſt ſerious thoughts that ever he had in all his life, being to undertake one of the greateſt burdens that ever was laid upon the back of any human creature; ſo that without the ſupport of the Almighty, he muſt ſink under the weight of it, to the damage and prejudice of theſe nations. This being ſo, he muſt aſk help of the parliament, and of thoſe that fear God, that by their prayers he might receive aſſiſtance from God; for nothing elſe could enable him to diſcharge ſo great a duty and truſt. That ſeeing this was but an introduction to the carrying on of the government of theſe nations, and there were many things which could not be ſupplied without the aſſiſtance of parliament, it was his duty to aſk their help in them; Not that he doubted; for the ſame ſpirit that had led the parliament to this, would eaſily ſuggeſt the reſt to them. For his part, nothing would have induced him to take this unſupportable burden to fleſh and blood, but that he had ſeen in the parliament a great care in doing thoſe things which might really anſwer the ends that they had engaged for, and make clearly for the liberty of the nation, and for the intereſt and preſervation of all ſuch as fear God under various forms: And if theſe nations were not thankful to them for their care therein, it would fall as a ſin upon their heads. That yet there were ſome things wanting that tended to reformation, to the diſcountenancing vice and the encouragement of virtue; but he ſpake not this as in the leaſt doubting their progreſs, but as one that did heartily deſire, to the end that God might crown their work, that in their own time, and with what ſpeed they judged fit, thoſe things might be provided for." The ſpeech being ended, the members returned again to their houſe. And thus did his Highneſs accompliſh a

chief part of what he deſigned, which was to have his power and authority confirmed by parliament.

CHAP. VII.

From his being confirmed Protector by the Parliament's Humble Petition and Advice, to his Death. Concluding with ſome Account of his Character, and his pompous Funeral.

His ſolemn Inauguration

CROMWELL having thus accepted of the government from the hands of the parliament, 'twas thought fit he ſhould have a ſolemn Inauguration; which was accordingly appointed to be on the 26th of June, and the houſe ordered the maſter of the ceremonies to give notice thereof to all foreign ambaſſadors and miniſters. Weſtminſter-hall was prepared for this ſolemnity, and adorned and beautified as ſumptuouſly as it could be for a Coronation. At the upper end there was an aſcent raiſed, where a chair and canopy of ſtate were ſet, and a table with another chair for the Speaker; and ſeats were likewiſe built up for the members of parliament, the judges and officers, and for the lord-mayor and aldermen of London. All things being prepared, the Lord Protector came out of a room adjoining to the Lords houſe (having come thither from Whitehall by water) and in this order proceeded into the hall. Firſt went his gentlemen, then a herald; next the aldermen, another herald, and the attorney-general; then the judges; then Norroy king at arms, the Lords Commiſſioners of the ſeal, and of the treaſury; then Garter king at arms, and after him the Earl of Warwick carrying the ſword bare-headed before the Protector, and the Lord-mayor Tichburn carrying the city ſword. His Highneſs ſtanding up under a cloth of ſtate, the Speaker of the parliament made the following ſpeech to him.

"May

"May it pleaſe your Highneſs, You are now upon a great theatre, in a large choir of people: You have the parliament of England, Scotland and Ireland before you: On your right hand, my Lords the judges; and on your left hand, the Lord-mayor, aldermen, and ſheriffs of London, the moſt noble and populous city of England. The parliament with the interpoſition of your ſuffrage makes laws; and the judges and governors of London are the great diſpenſers of thoſe laws to the people. The occaſion of this convention and intercourſe, is to give an inveſtiture to your Highneſs in that eminent place of Lord Protector; a name which you had before, but it is now ſettled by the full unanimous conſent of the people of theſe three nations aſſembled in parliament: You have no new name, but a new date added to the old name; the ſixteenth of December is now changed to the twenty-ſixth of June." The Speaker's ſpeech to him.

Then he ſaid, he was commanded by the parliament to make oblation to his Highneſs of four things in order to his inauguration. At which, being aſſiſted by the Earl of Warwick, and Whitelock, he veſted his Highneſs with a robe of purple-velvet lined with ermines; telling him, "It was an emblem of magiſtracy, and imported righteouſneſs and juſtice." Then he preſented him with a bible, richly gilt and boſſed with gold, and told him, "It was a book that contained the holy ſcriptures, in which he had the happineſs to be well verſed; it was a book of books, and contained both precepts and examples for good government." Next he put in his hand a ſcepter of maſſy gold, ſaying, "Here is a ſcepter, not unlike a ſtaff; for you are to be a ſtaff to the weak and poor." Laſtly, he girt him with a very rich ſword, with this comment, "This is not a military, but a civil ſword; it is a ſword rather of defence than offence, not only to defend your ſelf, but alſo your people." Then his

his Highneſs took an oath, to govern the people of theſe three nations according to law, &c. Which done, Mr. Manton prayed, recommending his Highneſs, the parliament, the council, the forces by land and ſea, and the whole government and people of the three nations to the bleſſing and protection of God. Then the trumpets ſounded, and an herald proclaimed his Highneſs's title, and all was concluded with the loud acclamations of the people, "God ſave the Lord Protector." The ceremonies being ended, his Highneſs with his train returned to Whitehall, and the members to their houſe, where they adjourned their ſitting to the 20th of January next.

Ludlow tells us, that the next day after the ſolemnity of the inauguration, there was a feaſt prepared for the aſſembly and officers of the army; at which 'twas obſerved major-general Lambert was not preſent; which occaſioned many to ſuſpect he was declining in favour for obſtructing Cromwell's deſign of being King; for he ſays he was credibly informed, that when that buſineſs was on foot, the major-general took the liberty to tell Cromwell, That if he accepted the crown, he could not aſſure the army to him. Or perhaps he was diſguſted at the Protector's reſerving to himſelf the naming of his ſucceſſor in the government. Some time after, upon the major-general's refuſing to take the oath, enjoined by the humble petition and advice, to do nothing againſt the preſent government, and to be true and faithful to the Protector, according to the law of the land; his Highneſs ſent for him, and told him, He was well aſſured his refuſal proceeded not on account of this new authority; for he might remember, that he himſelf did at the firſt preſs him to accept the title of King; and therefore if he was now diſſatisfied with the preſent poſture of affairs, he deſired him to ſurrender his commiſſion. To this Lambert

bert anſwered, 'That having no ſuſpicion that it would then be demanded of him, he had not brought it, but if he pleaſed to ſend for it, he ſhould deliver it;' which two or three days after was accordingly done. But the Protector not thinking it ſafe to diſguſt him entirely, allowed him a penſion of 2000l. a year, to keep him from any deſperate undertaking.

Blake's great ſucceſs at Sancta Cruz.

The Protector, now in the height of his grandeur and power, met with one very great misfortune, by the death of his valiant and victorious admiral Blake, after his having added one very ſignal exploit more this year to his other glories. Having rode out all the winter ſtorms before Cadiz and the coaſt of Portugal, he received certain intelligence that another Spaniſh plate-fleet much richer than the former, was coming home; and for fear of the Engliſh fleet had put into the bay of Sancta Cruz in the iſland of Teneriff, one of the Canaries. Upon this Blake with his fleet weighed anchor, April 13, and by the 20th ſtood off the Offing of the ſaid bay; where he accordingly found the galleons arrived, to the number of ſixteen men of war. The bay was ſecured by a ſtrong caſtle well furniſhed with great ordnance, beſides ſeven forts more in ſeveral parts of it, mounted with ſix, four and three great guns a-piece, and united together by a line of communication from one fort to another, which was manned with muſqueteers. Don Diego Diagues, the Spaniſh admiral, cauſed all his ſmaller ſhips to moor cloſe to the ſhoar, covered by the caſtles and forts, and poſted the ſix large galleons farther off at anchor, with their formidable broadſides to the ſea. A Dutch merchantman was at this time in the bay, the maſter whereof perceiving the Engliſh were ready to enter, and that a combat would preſently enſue, deſired Don Diego's leave to depart, 'For, ſaid he, I am very ſure, Blake will preſently be amongſt us;' to which the Don reſolutely anſwered, 'Get you

you gone if you will, and let Blake come if he dares.'

Blake having called a council of war, and finding it impracticable to carry off the galleons, reſolved to burn them all; To which end, he firſt ordered the brave captain Stayner, in the Speaker frigate, with a ſquadron to ſtand into the very bay; who by eight the next morning fell furiouſly upon the Spaniards, without the leaſt regard to their forts, and fought them almoſt an hour. The admiral ſeconding him, poſted ſome of the larger ſhips to canonade the caſtle and forts; which played their parts ſo well, that the enemy after ſome time was forced to leave them. Blake for the ſpace of four hours engaged the galleons, which made a brave reſiſtance, but were at laſt abandoned by the enemy; as were likewiſe the ſmaller veſſels which lay under the forts which were burnt by Stayner, whilſt Blake did the ſame by the large galleons; ſo that this whole plate-fleet, of ineſtimable value, was utterly deſtroyed; and, which is very remarkable, as ſoon as ever the action was over, the wind, which before blew ſtrong into the bay, on a ſudden veered about, and brought Blake with his fleet out to ſea, without the loſs of one ſhip, and with no more than forty-eight men killed, and a hundred and twenty wounded. The news of this brave and unparalleled action being brought to England before the end of the ſeſſion, the parliament ordered a day of thankſgiving for this great ſucceſs; and the Lord Protector, at their deſire, ſent the admiral a diamond ring of 500l. value, and knighted Stayner at his return to England.

Blake, after this noble exploit, ſailed back to Spain, where after having kept all their ſhips and ports in awe, he returned for England. But falling ſick of a fever, he died in the 59th year of his age, juſt as the fleet was entering into Plymouth ſound;

found; where he paſſionately enquired for the land, but found his own element the more proper bed of honour. He had a publick funeral ſolemnly and juſtly beſtowed upon him, and the honour of being interred in Henry VIIth's chapel. The lord Clarendon ſays, "He was the firſt man that declined the old track and made it manifeſt, that the (naval) ſcience might be attained in leſs time than was imagined; and deſpiſed thoſe rules which had been long in practice, to keep his ſhips and his men out of danger, which had been held in former times a point of great ability and circumſpection; as if the principal art requiſite in the captain of a ſhip had been to be ſure to come home ſafe again. He was the firſt man who brought ſhips to contemn caſtles on ſhore, which had been thought ever very formidable, and were diſcovered by him to make a noiſe only, and to fright thoſe who could rarely be hurt by them. He was the firſt that infuſed that proportion of courage into the ſeamen, by making them ſee by experience, what mighty things they could do, if they were reſolved; and taught them to fight in fire as well as upon water: And tho' he hath been very well imitated and followed, he was the firſt that gave the example of that kind of naval courage, and bold and reſolute atchievements."

He had a very great regard to the honour of his country, and the Engliſh dominion of the ſeas. He endeavoured to preſerve peace and unity among his ſeamen, by telling them, "That they ſhould not liſten to any news from land, nor mind the changes in the government, but remember that the fleet was Engliſh, and that their enemies were foreigners; and therefore they muſt fight for the honour of the Engliſh nation." One inſtance of his care to preſerve the honour of his country, mentioned by Biſhop Burnet, I cannot omit. He ſays, that Blake happening to be at Malaga with

the fleet, before Cromwell made war upon Spain, ſome of his ſeamen going aſhore, met the hoſt, as it was carrying about, and not only refuſed to pay any honour to it, but laughed at thoſe who did. Whereupon one of the prieſts ſtirred up the people to reſent this affront; and ſo they fell upon them and beat them ſeverely. The ſeamen returning to their ſhip, and complaining of the uſage they had met with, Blake immediately diſpatched a trumpeter to the Vice-Roy, to demand the prieſt who had been the chief occaſion of it: To which the Vice-Roy returned this anſwer, 'That he had no authority over the prieſts, and ſo could not diſpoſe of him.' But Blake ſent him word again, 'That he would not enquire who had power to ſend the prieſt to him, but if he were not ſent within three hours, he would burn their Town. And ſo being unable to reſiſt him, they ſent the prieſt to him; who juſtifying himſelf upon the rude behaviour of the ſeamen, Blake anſwered, "That if he had ſent a complaint to him of it, he would have puniſhed them ſeverely, ſince he would not ſuffer his men to affront the eſtabliſhed religion of any place at which he touched; but he took it ill, that he ſet on the Spaniards to do it; for he would have all the world to know, that an Engliſhman was only to be puniſhed by an Engliſhman." And ſo he civilly treated the prieſt, and diſmiſſed him, being ſatisfied that he had him at his mercy. The Biſhop ſays, Cromwell was exceedingly pleaſed with this, and read the letters in council with great ſatisfaction, telling them, "He hoped he ſhould make the name of an Engliſhman as great as ever that of a Roman had been."

As victory crowned the Protector's arms by ſea this year, ſo his forces by land were not unſucceſsful. The 6000 men which his Highneſs was obliged by his treaty with France to provide, for acting jointly with the French againſt the Spaniards, being

being tranſported under the command of Sir John Reynolds and major-general Morgan, the French had no inclination to begin upon Mardyke or Dunkirk, which when taken were to be put into Cromwell's hands, but marched to other places which they were to conquer for their own uſe. But his Highneſs's ambaſſador Lockhart made ſuch repeated repreſentations to the cardinal, complaining of their breach of faith, not without ſome menaces, 'That his maſter knew where to find a more punctual friend,' that as ſoon as they had taken Montmedy and St. Venant, the army marched into Flanders and inveſted Mardyke, which being taken would much facilitate the deſign upon Dunkirk. The French and Engliſh had not lain before this ſtrong place above four days, when it was reduced to a ſurrender upon compoſition, and delivered up wholly into the poſſeſſion of the Engliſh. But preſently after, the French being withdrawn into winter-quarters, the Spaniards, who were ſenſible of what great importance this place was to the preſerving of Dunkirk, detached a body of horſe and foot to retake it. Among theſe were 2000 Engliſh and Iriſh, commanded by the Duke of York; and they made two very furious ſtorms upon the fort, but were ſtoutly repulſed, and forced to fly, with the loſs of ſeveral brave commanders.

Ludlow, ſpeaking of this action, ſays, "Many of thoſe who were killed on the enemy's ſide were Engliſh under the Duke of York: And as it was confeſſed by all preſent, that the Engliſh who took part with the French, behaved themſelves with more bravery than any; ſo it was obſerved, that thoſe of the cavalier party, who had joined with the Spaniards, behaved themſelves worſt." The marſhal Turenne commanded the army that took Mardyke; to whom Cardinal Mazarine wrote thus, at Lockhart's inſtances, before the ſiege:

"Nothing can be of more fatal conſequence to France, than the loſs of Cromwell's friendſhip, and the breach of the union with him; which certainly will be broken, if ſome ſtrong town is not taken and put into his hands." This conqueſt was very grateful to Cromwell, who immediately ſent ten men of war to guard the port of Mardyke, and cruize on that coaſt. A foreign popiſh writer, ſpeaking of this matter, ſays, "In effect, nothing could flatter the ambition of Cromwell more than this aquiſition, knowing he had thereby won immortal glory: He had, without the loſs of a man, accompliſhed a deſign, which the greateſt Kings of England had often attempted in vain, at the expence of their people's blood and treaſure: He had re-eſtabliſhed the Engliſh on the continent, and put them in a condition to make themſelves maſters of both ſides of the channel, which had been deſpaired of ſince the loſs of Calais."

Upon the French King's entering into an agreement with the Lord Protector of England, King Charles with his family was obliged to leave France and retire to Cologn; where having reſided about two years and a half, he this year, upon concluding a treaty with the Catholick King, repaired to the city of Bruges in Flanders, where he found a handſome accommodation for himſelf and his ſmall court. About this time, among other methods he uſed in order to his reſtoration, Mr. Echard tells us of a private application he made to Cromwell, which he ſays came from the mouth of the Dutcheſs of Lauderdale, who told the ſame to a perſon, of whoſe credit he could make no queſtion. The ſtory is this: That this Lady, afterwards Dutcheſs of Lauderdale, being a particular friend and acquaintance of Cromwell's, was employed to make a private offer and propoſal to him, in ſubſtance as follows, "That if he would reſtore, or permit the King to return to his throne, he

The King makes a private offer to Cromwell.

he would ſend him a blank paper, for him to write his own terms and limitations, and ſettle what power and riches he pleaſed upon himſelf, family, and friends." This propoſal was firſt communicated to the Protector's Lady, who liked it very well, believing that beſides other advantages, it would bring abſolute indemnity and ſecurity to her huſband, and the whole family. She therefore took an opportunity, when ſhe was in bed with him, to mention the offer to him, and endeavoured to perſuade him to accept of it, as being of the higheſt moment to the happineſs of himſelf and relations. But he, without minding her arguments and perſuaſions, preſently told her, She was a fool, adding this ſhrewd ſentence, "If Charles Stuart can forgive me all that I have done againſt him and his family, he does not deſerve to wear the crown of England."

The King keeping his court at Bruges in Flanders, had many conſultations with the governor Don John, and was in great hopes the diſtractions in England might at length turn to his own advantage; which encouraged the Spaniards to protect his perſon, and accept his arms in Flanders; where the marqueſs of Ormond, the lord Rocheſter, the lords Gerrard and Wentworth, the lord Taaf, and general Middleton, had their ſeveral regiments quartered along the ſea-coaſt, under the command of the Dukes of York and Glouceſter; both to aſſiſt his Catholick Majeſty againſt his enemies the French, who were ſupported by Cromwell, and to be in a readineſs to tranſport themſelves into England, if any favourable oppotunity ſhould invite them. And indeed, an inſurrection of the King's friends was at this time deſigned; to promote which, there was now publiſhed, and with great induſtry diſperſed, a very bold paper, entitled, 'Killing no Murder,' making it not only lawful but honourable to kill the Protector, as a tyrant and common

common enemy of his country. This put his Highneſs into a terrible fright, and made him very vigilant to apprehend the author, who was then concealed, not only in his perſon, but in the very ſuſpicion of his name, tho' ſince generally believed to be colonel Titus, who made a great figure in ſome of the parliaments after the King's reſtoration. Some time after this alarm, which ſerved more to put the Protector upon his guard, than to forward the preparations of the royaliſts, the marqueſs of Ormond ſlipt over from Flanders, and lay privately in London, to quicken the deſign, intending alſo to ſend for his troops to puſh on the execution of it. But the Protector, who was always good at intelligence, had (as was before related) corrupted Sir Richard Willis, who ſeemed to be at the head of the King's party, and pretended a great deal of zeal for his ſervice, to diſcover all their moſt ſecret contrivances to him; and by his intelligence, he ſent out a proclamation againſt the conſpirators before they could get into a body; by which means many of them were apprehended, the marqueſs of Ormond himſelf very narrowly eſcaping.

The Protector now ſent his writs of ſummons, under the great ſeal, to divers perſons to ſit as members of the Other Houſe; the form of which writs was the ſame with that which was uſed to ſummon the Peers in parliament. The perſons who were to compoſe the Other Houſe were about ſixty in number; among whom were divers noblemen, knights, and gentlemen of ancient families of good eſtates, and ſome colonels and officers of the army. Their names were as follows: The lord Richard Cromwell, the Protector's eldeſt ſon; the lord Henry Cromwell, his other ſon, lord deputy of Ireland; Nathaniel Fiennes, and John Liſle, lords commiſſioners of the great ſeal; Henry Lawrence, lord preſident of the council; Charles Fleetwood,

wood, lieutenant-general of the army; Bulſtrode Whitelock, and William Sydenham, commiſſioners of the treaſury; Robert Earl of Warwick, Edmund Earl of Mulgrave, Edward Earl of Mancheſter, Willam viſcount Say and Seal, Philip viſcount Liſle, Philip lord Wharton, Thomas lord Fauconberg, George lord Eure, John Claypole Eſq; Charles Howard Eſq; whom the Protector made a viſcount; John Deſborough, and Edward Montague, generals at ſea; Sir Charles Wolſley, Sir Gilbert Pickering, Walter Strickland Eſq; major-general Skippon, colonel Philip Jones, Sir William Strickland, Francis Rouſe Eſq; John Fiennes Eſq; Sir Francis Ruſſel, Sir Thomas Honywood, Sir Arthur Haſlerigg, Sir John Hobart, Sir Richard Onſlow, Sir Gilbert Gerard, Sir William Roberts, lord-chief-juſtice Glyn, lord-chief-juſtice St. John, William Pierpoint Eſq; John Crew Eſq; Alexander Popham Eſq; Sir Chriſtopher Pack, Sir Robert Tichburn, Edward Whalley Eſq; Sir John Barkſtead lieutenant of the Tower; Sir George Fleetwood, Sir Thomas Pride, Sir John Hewſon, Richard Ingoldſby Eſq; James Berry Eſq; William Goffe Eſq; Thomas Cooper Eſq; Edmund Thomas Eſq; George Monk, general in Scotland; David Earl of Caſſils, Sir William Lockhart, Sir Archibald Johnſton, William Steel, lord chancellor of Ireland; Roger lord Broghill, Sir Matthew Tomlinſon, William Lenthal and Richard Hambden Eſqrs; Some of theſe were knights of the Protector's own making.

The parliament thus improved by the addition of another houſe, met a ſecond time on the 20th day of January; when the Protector came as a Sovereign to the houſe of Lords, and ſending for the Speaker and houſe of Commons by the black-rod, made a ſhort ſpeech to them, beginning in the old ſtile, My Lords, and you the knights, citizens, and burgeſſes of the houſe of Commons; and then diſcourſing

diſcourſing ſome particulars which he recommended to them, thanking them for their good correſpondence the laſt ſeſſion, and aſſuring them, if they went on as they had began, they ſhould be called The bleſſed of the Lord, and generations to come ſhould bleſs them; he left his lord keeper Fiennes to make a long ſpeech to them, with all the ſtate of our ancient Monarchs.

As ſeveral of the nobility, who had writs ſent to them, refuſed to ſit in the Other Houſe, ſo Sir Arthur Haſlerigg, and ſome few more of the commons declined that honour, and choſe rather to ſit in the lower houſe, for which they had been elected members by the people. Many others alſo, who had been excluded by the Protector in the firſt ſeſſion of this parliament, now ventured to take their ſeats, upon the third article of the Petition and Advice, by which no members legally choſen, were to be excluded from the performance of their duty, but by conſent of that houſe whereof they were members. By this means, and the removal of thoſe of the other houſe, who were, for the moſt part, taken out of this, a conſiderable alteration was made in this aſſembly; ſo that they ſoon began to call in queſtion the authority and juriſdiction of the other houſe, and ſeveral of the members, particularly Sir Arthur Haſlerigg, appeared very forward in fomenting differences between theſe two bodies. Upon this his Highneſs ſent for the Commons to the Banquetting-houſe, where he exhorted them to unity, and to the obſervance of their own rules in the Petition and Advice. But this having no effect upon them, they went on in the ſame way; many being againſt the members of the other houſe being called Lords, others intirely againſt the having ſuch another houſe, and ſome ſpeaking reproachfully of it. Theſe proceedings tended to their own deſtruction; for the Protector looking upon himſelf to be aimed

at

at by them, and that theſe things were only the teſtimonies of their envy towards him and his government, began to think of putting a ſtop to all by diſſolving the parliament. Whilſt he was revolving this in his mind, on the 4th of February, he received freſh information concerning the diligence of his adverſaries in all parts; which quickened him to that degree, that he would not ſtay for one of his own coaches, but taking the firſt that was at hand, with ſuch guards as he could preſently get together, he hurried to the Other Houſe; whither being come, he imparted his reſolution of diſſolving the parliament to lieutenant-general Fleetwood; who earneſtly endeavouring to diſſuade him from it, he clapped his hand upon his breaſt, and ſwore, by the living God he would do it. Then the uſher of the black rod was ſent to the Commons to acquaint them, that his Highneſs was in the Lords houſe, and there required their attendance. Hereupon they, with the ſpeaker, went up, and his Highneſs made a ſpeech to them, declaring ſeveral "urgent and weighty reaſons, which made it neceſſary for him, in order to the publick peace and ſafety, to proceed to an immediate diſſolution of this parliament;" and accordingly he did diſſolve them.

The Protector diſſolves the parliament.

His Highneſs was the more incenſed, becauſe at this time the fifth-monarchy men were forming a dangerous conſpiracy to overthrow him and his government; which he ſuſpected was countenanced by many of the parliament. Major-general Harriſon was deep in this plot, which was laid for an inſurrection to dethrone the Protector. Their chief cabal was held in a houſe near Shoreditch, where ſecretary Thurloe, who ſpared no pains or money for his maſter's ſafety, had a ſpy among them, and ſuffered them to go on till the night before that wherein they had appointed to rendezvous; at which time he ſent a party of ſoldiers,

Plots againſt him.

who ſeized the chief of them as they were conſulting about the manner of putting their deſign in execution. Their arms and ammunition were likewiſe ſeized, with a ſtandard of a Lion couchant, as of the tribe of Judah, with this motto, "Who ſhall rouſe him up?" and ſeveral copies of a printed declaration, with this title, "The principle of the Remnant, &c." The conſpirators apprehended were Venner, Gray, Gowler, Hopkins, Aſhton, and others, who were carried priſoners to the Gatehouſe, where they lay long in a miſerable condition, but were ſpared to create diſturbance and their own deſtruction at another time, viz. ſoon after the King's reſtoration.

Shortly after, as Ludlow informs us, ſome perſons who uſed to meet in Colman-ſtreet, to deplore the apoſtaſy of the times, and particularly that of Whitehall, were apprehended by the lord mayor's officers, purſuant to the Protector's orders, as they were coming out of their meeting-place. Among theſe was one cornet Day, who being accuſed of ſaying, "That the Protector was a rogue and a traitor," confeſſed the words; and to juſtify himſelf ſaid, that Cromwell had affirmed in the preſence of himſelf and ſeveral other officers, "That if he did oppreſs the conſcientious, or betray the liberties of the people, or not take away tithes by a certain time (now paſt) they ſhould then have liberty to ſay, he was a rogue and a traitor." He deſired leave therefore to produce his witneſſes, who were then preſent, to what he had aſſerted. But the buſineſs was ſo managed, that he and ſome others were fined and impriſoned for their miſdemeanours.

The Cavalier plot was mentioned before. And of this alſo he had timely informations given him; upon which he ſent for the lord mayor, aldermen and common-council of the city of London, and acquainted them with it, and deſired their care to put

put the city into a poſture of defence. They accordingly went back with great indignation againſt the Royaliſts, and took extraordinary care of their gates and guards, and withal drew up an humble addreſs to his Highneſs, promiſing the faith of the city, and the purſe of it, in firmly adhering to him againſt all his enemies. Addreſſes alſo of the ſame ſtrain were made from general Monk's and other regiments, and from the Engliſh forces in Flanders; all which his Highneſs anſwered with thanks. He now thought it time to proceed againſt the conſpirators themſelves, whom he had ſafely lodged in priſon. For this purpoſe a high court of juſtice was erected, being founded on a law made by the late parliament for the ſecurity of his Highneſs's perſon. Whitelock was one of the commiſſioners, but he tells us he never ſat with them, it being againſt his judgment. Before this court were brought, Dr. Hewet, Sir Henry Slingſby, and Mr. Mordaunt, with ſome others of the meaner ſort. The general charge againſt them was, "For endeavouring to levy war againſt the government on behalf of Charles Stuart." The particular charge againſt Dr. Hewet was, "For diſperſing commiſſions for the ſon of the late King, and perſuading divers to raiſe forces by virtue of the ſame." That againſt Sir Henry Slingſby was, "For attempting to debauch ſome of the garriſon of Hull to the ſervice of Charles Stuart, and delivering a commiſſion from him to them." And the priſoners of leſs note were charged "With a deſign of firing the city in ſeveral parts at the time appointed for the inſurrection." Dr. Hewet denied the juriſdiction of the court, and argued againſt the legality of it; and ſo for contempt, after having been three times required to plead, he was adjudged guilty of the charge; and when he afterwards offered to plead, he was told it was too late. Sir Henry Slingſby pleaded that he was a priſoner at

1658. Trials of the conſpirators.

the time when he was charged to have practiſed againſt the government, and that the perſons whom he was accuſed of attempting to corrupt, had trepanned him by their promiſes to ſerve the King in delivering Hull, if he would give them a commiſſion to act for him; which commiſſion was an old one that had lain long by him. But all this availing him nothing, he was, together with Dr. Hewet, adjudged to die; and accordingly they were both beheaded on Tower Hill, notwithſtanding all endeavours that were uſed for procuring their pardon. Six of the meaner ſort were condemned to be hanged, but only three ſuffered; one in Tower-ſtreet, another in Cheapſide, and the third before the Exchange. As for Mr. Mordaunt, he pleaded not guilty, and after a full hearing of the witneſſes on both ſides, the court acquitted him by one voice.

When theſe trials were over, the High court of juſtice was diſſolved, and the Protector, by Whitelock's advice, referred all future trials of conſpirators to the Upper Bench, in the courſe of common law. He not only made Howard a Viſcount, but ſigned a patent to make Whitelock one, and three other patents to make the attorney-general Prideaux, and the ſolicitor general, Baronets, and John Maynard, Eſq, his Highneſs's ſerjeant.

In the beginning of this year, a party of the garriſon of Oſtend, with the privity of the governor, held intelligence with Cardinal Mazarine, and then with the Protector Cromwell, to betray that town into the hands of the French, wherein the Lord Protector was to have his ſhare. Mazarine was to ſend a land army under the command of marſhal D'Aumont, and the Protector was to furniſh a fleet for tranſporting the men. Articles having been agreed on between the ſuppoſed conſpirators and the Cardinal, on May 14th, the appointed day, the Engliſh fleet appeared before Oſtend, and the garriſon permitted the French to paſs

paſs and land, who thought of nothing but an immediate poſſeſſion of the place. But the ſubtle governor, having ſuffered the fleet to come to a proper diſtance, on a ſudden pulled down the white flag that had invited them in, and ſet up a bloody flag: And before the veſſels could tack about, or get out of his reach, he ſorely galled them by the cannon from the forts; and the French that landed were all, to the number of 1500, ſlain or taken priſoners, among which laſt was the marſhal D'Aumont himſelf.

Preſently after this great diſappointment, it was reſolved to attempt the taking of Dunkirk; which was accordingly inveſted by the French aſſiſted by 6000 valiant Engliſhmen, under the inſpection of Lockhart, the Protector's ambaſſador, but more immediately under the command of major-general Morgan. Whilſt they were carrying on their approaches towards the town, the French under marſhal Turenne on the ſide of Newport, and Morgan with his Engliſh and a brigade of French horſe, on that next Mardyke, intelligence was brought them, that the Spaniſh general, Don John of Auſtria, with the Prince of Conde, the Prince de Ligny, and the Dukes of York and Glouceſter were advancing with 30,000 men to reſieve the place. Hereupon the French King and Cardinal were perſuaded by Turenne and others to withdraw their perſons, and retire to Calais, and leave all to be determined by a council of war. In the firſt council, which was held without either Lockhart or Morgan, it was reſolved to raiſe the ſiege, if the enemy came on. But in the next, when thoſe two were preſent, Morgan vehemently oppoſed that reſolution, alledging, "What a diſhonour it would be to the crown of France, to have ſummoned a place, and broke ground before it, and then raiſe the ſiege and run away;" and deſiring the council to conſider, "That if they raiſed the ſiege, the alliance

liance with England would be broken the ſame hour." Upon which it was reſolved, contrary to their former intention, to give battle to the enemy if they came on, and to maintain the ſiege. And the enemy coming on, a deſperate fight enſued, in which the Spaniards were in a manner totally routed by the Engliſh, before the French came in. At the end of the purſuit, marſhal Turenne, with above a hundred officers, came up to the Engliſh, alighted from their horſes, and embracing the officers, ſaid, "They never ſaw a more glorious action in their lives, and that they were ſo tranſported with the ſight of it, that they had not power to move, or do any thing." The Spaniſh army being entirely vanquiſhed, the confederates renewed their attempts upon the town of Dunkirk with great vigour and induſtry; and the marqueſs de Leda the governor, being mortally wounded, as he was ſallying out upon the beſiegers, the Spaniards within deſired a preſent capitulation; which being granted, this important place was ſurrendered upon articles, on the 25th of June; when it was immediately delivered up into the hands of the Engliſh by the French King and Cardinal in perſon, purſuant to the treaty between them and his Highneſs the Lord Protector.

But as all worldly glory and proſperity muſt have an end, ſo our Protector's greatneſs, which expired only with his life, now drew near to a period. It has been obſerved by ſome, that tho' after the diſſolution of the laſt parliament, all things ſeemed to ſucceed at home and abroad according to his wiſh, and his power and greatneſs to be better eſtabliſhed than ever; yet he never had that ſerenity of mind, after his refuſal of the crown, that he had before uſually enjoyed; that he was now much more apprehenſive of danger to his perſon than he uſed to be, and the many plots and conſpiracies againſt him, gave his mind great diſturbance;

ſturbance; inſomuch that he grew very ſuſpicious, and more difficult of acceſs, and was more rarely ſeen abroad than formerly. Biſhop Burnet ſays, it was generally believed that his life and all his arts were exhauſted at once, and that if he had lived much longer, he could not have held things together. However this be, 'tis certain he was greatly afflicted with the loſs of ſome of his family and friends, a little before his death. He ſeemed to be much concerned for the death of his friend, the old earl of Warwick, with whom he had a faſt friendſhip, tho' neither their humours nor their natures were very much alike; and the heir of that houſe, who had married his youngeſt daughter, died about the ſame time; ſo that all his relation to, and confidence in that family, was at an end. But that which chiefly diſturbed his peace, was the death of his daughter, the lady Elizabeth Cleypole, who is ſaid to have earneſtly interceded for Dr. Hewet's life, and yet in that only inſtance had a denial from her fond father. She died at Hampton-Court on the 6th of Auguſt; and her body being carried by water to Weſtminſter, after lying in ſtate in the Painted-chamber, was ſolemnly interred in Henry the VIIth's chapel.

Death of lady Cleypole.

About a week after her death, the Protector, who had been ill about a fortnight before, grew conſiderably worſe at Hampton-Court, whither he had retired with his council. His diſeaſe at firſt was a kind of tertian ague, which for ſome time continued under ſeveral appearances, with ſymptoms ſo favourable, that every other day he walked abroad in the palace garden: But now he began to be more confined; and about the end of Auguſt took to his bed, and made a will relating to his private and domeſtic concerns. His fits ſtill growing ſtronger, and his ſpirits weaker, he was removed from Hampton-Court to Whitehall (tho' Whitelock ſays he died at Hampton-Court). Here he ſoon

The Protector's illneſs.

ſoon appeared to be delirious, and his phyſicians began to think him in real danger; tho' his chaplains ſeemed ſtill to aſſure themſelves of his recovery; inſomuch that Dr. Thomas Goodwin, in his prayer to God for him, is ſaid to have expreſſed himſelf thus, "That they aſked not for his life; for they were aſſured he had too great things for this man to do, to remove him yet; but they pray'd for his ſpeedy recovery, becauſe his life and preſence were ſo neceſſary to divers things then of great moment to be diſpatched." His ſickneſs ſtill increaſing, ſo that he ſeemed to be drawing near his end, thoſe of his council being alarmed, came to put him in mind to nominate his ſucceſſor, according to the Humble petition and advice. But he being now almoſt in a lethargy, and not anſwering to the purpoſe, they aſked him again, whether 'twas his will that his eldeſt ſon Richard ſhould ſucceed him in the Protectorſhip; to which 'twas ſaid he anſwered, Yes. Ludlow ſays, the commiſſioners of the great ſeal attended for ſigning the declaration of the perſon to be appointed his ſucceſſor; but whether he was unwilling to diſcover his intentions to leave the ſucceſſion to his ſon, leſt thereby he ſhould, in caſe of recovery, diſoblige others whom he had put in expectation of that power; or whether he was ſo diſcompoſed in body and mind, that he could not attend that matter; or laſtly, whether he would have named, or did name any other is uncertain: but certain it is, that the commiſſioners were not admitted till the Friday following, when the ſymptoms of death were apparent on him. Others give this account of the Protector's laſt ſickneſs, and the buſineſs of a ſucceſſor: That after he had been ſome time ill, a malignant humour broke out in his foot, which hindering him from the exerciſe of walking or riding abroad, he obliged his phyſicians to endeavour to diſperſe it, which they attempting to do, drove

drove it upwards to his heart; by which means he became deſperately ſick, and in the beginning of September the ſymptoms of death appeared upon him; and aſking one of his phyſicians, what he what he thought of his caſe? the doctor anſwered, "My Lord, there is no more oil in that lamp which has given ſo much light to both church and ſtate." The dying Protector replied with great magnanimity, "When do you think it will go out?" The phyſician told him, "In two days at fartheſt:" Upon which Cromwell ſaid, "It is then time to ſettle my mind, and provide for the ſafety of the ſtate." Accordingly he ſent for his council, and recommended to them the choice of a ſucceſſor, tho' by the Humble petition and advice he might nominate one himſelf, which it was expected he would have done. The author of the Hiſtory of England, during the reigns of the royal houſe of Stuart, ſays, lieutenant general Fleetwood did, without doubt, expect to have been declared ſucceſſor to Cromwell, and without doubt had been ſo promiſed by his father-in-law; and he farther ſays, his manuſcript author, who had his memoirs from the earl of Orrery, affirms Oliver made Fleetwood his heir; but one of his daughters knowing where his will was, took it away and burned it, before Fleetwood could come at it: And a few minutes before Cromwell's death, when he was aſked "Who ſhould ſucceed him?" he reply'd, "In ſuch a drawer of the cabinet, in my cloſet, you will find it." Fleetwood found himſelf tricked, and the whole council againſt him; ſo he fell in with them, waiting an opportunity to right or revenge himſelf.

His death, character and funeral, &c.

However this was, on the third of September, (his beloved and victorious day, on which he had won two of his greateſt victories, at Dunbar and Worceſter) about three in the afternoon, the Protector expired; on which day there happened the

moſt violent ſtorm of wind that had ever been known; which I have not ſo ſtrong a fancy as to imagine, with a certain author, was any thing preternatural; any more than I can believe the prediction of colonel Lindſey as to the day of the Protector's death, which is founded on the ſtory of his making league with the devil; a ſtory, which, by the very fillineſs of the relation, ſufficiently confutes itſelf.

Thus the famous Oliver Cromwell, after ſo many great actions, ſo many toils and fatigues, and ſo many plots and conſpiracies againſt his life, at laſt died quietly in his bed. He expired in the ſixtieth year of his age, five years four months and fourteen days after the diſſolution of the long parliament, four years eight months and eighteen days after he had been declared Protector by the Inſtrument of government, and but one year three months and nine days after his being confirmed in that office by the Humble petition and advice.

Thus have I given ſo faithful an account of the actions of this great man, as may enable every one to judge of his character from thence: However, it may not be amiſs to take a ſhort view of it. As to his perſon, he had a manly ſtern look, and was of an active healthful conſtitution, able to endure the greateſt toil and fatigue. When he appeared firſt in the parliament, he made no great figure, there ſeemed to be nothing extraordinary in him, he diſcovered none of thoſe talents which uſe to gain applauſe and work upon the affections of the hearers and ſtanders by; yet as he grew into place and authority, his parts ſeemed to be raiſed, as if he had faculties that lay concealed till he had occaſion to uſe them; and when he was to act the part of a great man, he did it without any indecency, notwithſtanding the want of cuſtom. His converſation among his friends was very diverting and familiar, but in publick reſerved and grave. He affected

affected for the moſt part a plainneſs in his clothes, but in them, as well as in his guards and attendants, he appeared with magnificence upon publick occaſions. He was very temperate, ſparing in his diet, and tho' ſometimes he would drink freely, yet never to exceſs: He was moderate in all other pleaſure, and after his firſt reformation, free from all viſible immoralities, and ſeemed to be a great enemy to vice, and a lover of virtue, always taking care to ſuppreſs the former and encourage the latter. He wrote a tolerable good hand, and a ſtyle becoming a gentleman, except when he uſed to cant. And loved men of wit, and reſpected all perſons that excelled in any art. He had undoubtedly a wonderful knowledge of men, and by his great penetration could ſoon diſcover their abilities and qualifications: And had a rare faculty of examining and winding about the minds of all, even his enemies, which he could beſet with innumerable ſnares and artifices. All allow he was an extraordinary genius, and maſter of the moſt refined policy; that he had a great ſpirit, a wonderful circumſpection and ſagacity, and a moſt magnanimous reſolution. His courage and conduct in the field, were undoubtedly admirable; he had a greatneſs of ſoul, which the greateſt dangers and difficulties rather animated than diſcouraged; and his diſcipline and government of the army was in all reſpects ſuch as might become the moſt renowned and accompliſhed general.

Ambitious he certainly was to a very high degree, and yet at the ſame time ſeemed to have a paſſionate regard for the publick good: And if this was really the caſe, the former ſeems to have ſo far blinded him, as to make him think many things were for the publick good, which really were not ſo: But how far the neceſſity of affairs, and the confuſion and unſettled ſtate the nation was

then in; how far this extraordinary caſe, I ſay, might juſtify ſuch proceedings in ſome inſtances, in order to prevent greater confuſions and diſtractions, or whether this was really Cromwell's deſign in thoſe proceedings, I leave the reader to judge. But whatever cenſure we are to paſs upon his actions of this kind, it is allowed by all, even by his enemies, that he performed many great and laudable things to the honour and advantage of the nation; for the trade and commerce of which he had an infinite regard. He made himſelf reſpected and feared, not only by all the ſtates in Chriſtendom, but even the Turks ſtood in awe of him, and durſt not offend him: And few Princes ever bore their character higher upon all occaſions than our Protector, eſpecially in his treaties with crowned heads. But in the midſt of this power and grandeur, death put an end to all his high projects and daring deſigns.

I ſhall now finiſh this work with a particular account of the magnificent funeral of this great man. The corps, at leaſt in appearance, was on the 26th of September at night privately removed from Whitehall in a mourning hearſe, attended by his domeſtic ſervants, to Somerſet-Houſe. A few days after, his effigy was, with great ſtate and magnificence, expoſed openly, multitudes daily flocking to ſee the ſight, which appeared in this order. The firſt room was wholly hung with black; at the upper end of which was placed a cloth and chair of ſtate. In like manner were the ſecond and third rooms, all having ſcutcheons very thick upon the walls, and guards of partizans for people to paſs through. The fourth room was compleatly hung with black velvet, the ceiling being alſo covered with the ſame. Here lay the effigy under a noble canopy of black velvet, apparelled in the moſt magnificent robes, laced with gold, and furred with ermines, with a ſceptre in one hand,

hand, a globe in the other, a ſword hanging by its ſide, and a rich cap on the head, ſuitable to the robes. Behind the head was placed a chair and cuſhion of tiſſued gold, in which lay an imperial crown, beſet with diamonds and other precious ſtones. The bed of ſtate on which the effigy lay, was covered with a large pall of black velvet, under which was a Holland ſheet, born up by ſix ſtools covered with cloth of gold. The bed was incloſed with rails and baluſters, and, beſides ſolemn mourners, ſurrounded with banners, banrols, and all kinds of trophies of military honours. Within the rails ſtood eight ſilver candleſticks about five foot high, with white wax tapers ſtanding in them, of three foot long. At each corner of the rails was erected an upright pillar, which bore on their tops lions and dragons, holding in their paws ſtreamers crowned. The effigy having for ſome weeks continued in this poſture, on the firſt of November was removed into the great hall, where with new ornaments and ceremony it was placed, ſtanding upon an aſcent under a cloth of ſtate, with the imperial crown upon the head. Four or five hundred candles ſet in flat ſhining candleſticks, were ſo placed round near the roof of the hall, that the light they gave ſeemed like the rays of the ſun; by which his late Highneſs was repreſented as now in a ſtate of glory.

Having remained thus till the 23d of November, the waxen effigy of the Protector, with the crown on his head, ſword by his ſide, globe and ſceptre in his hands, was placed in a ſtately open chariot, covered all over with black velvet, and drawn by ſix horſes covered with the ſame, both chariot and horſes being adorned with plumes and other ornaments. The ſtreets from Somerſet-Houſe to Weſtminſter-Abbey, were guarded on both ſides of the way by ſoldiers in new red coats and black buttons, with their enſigns wrapp'd in cypreſs.

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The proceſſion was in the following manner: Firſt of all went a marſhal attended by his deputy, and thirteen more on horſeback, to clear the way: After theſe followed the poor men of Weſtminſter by two and two in mourning gowns and hoods; and next to them, the ſervants of thoſe perſons of quality that attended the funeral. Then came the Protector's late domeſtic ſervants, with his bargemen and watermen, followed by the ſervants of the Lord-mayor and Sheriffs of London; after whom followed the gentlemen attendants on foreign ambaſſadors and publick miniſters. After theſe marched the poor knights of Windſor in gowns and hoods; then the clerks, ſecretaries, and officers of the army, admiralty, treaſury and navy. Then marched the commiſſioners for approbation of preachers, and behind them all the officers, meſſengers, and clerks belonging to the privy-council, and both houſes of parliament. Next in order followed his Highneſs's phyſicians, the head officers of the army, the officers and aldermen of London, the maſter's of Chancery, and the Protector's council at law; the judges of admiralty, judges in Wales, and maſter of requeſts; the barons of the exchequer, judges of both benches, and the Lord-mayor of London; the perſons ally'd in blood to the Protector, and the members of the late Other Houſe; the publick miniſters of foreign princes, the Dutch ambaſſador alone, having his train held up by four gentlemen; then the Portugal ambaſſador, and the French ambaſſador in like manner; the lords commiſſioners of the great ſeal, the commiſſioners of the treaſury, and his Highneſs's privy-council. Theſe all moved in a ſolemn and pompous proceſſion, each diviſion or company being diſtinguiſhed by drums, trumpets, banners, and led horſes. Then came the chariot with the effigy, on each ſide of which were ſix banrols born by ſeveral perſons, and likewiſe ſeveral pieces of the Protector's

tector's armour, carried by eight officers of the army, attended by the heralds. Next went Garter, principal king at arms, attended by a gentleman on each hand bare-headed; and then came the chief-mourner: After which followed the horſe of honour, in very rich trapping embroidered on crimſon velvet, and adorned with white, red, and yellow plumes, being led by the maſter of the horſe. The rear of this noble ſhew was brought up by the Protector's guard of halberdiers, the warders of the Tower, and a troop of horſe. The effigy being brought in this manner to the weſt end of the Abbey church, was taken from the chariot by ten gentlemen, and carried through the church under a canopy of ſtate up to the eaſt end, where it was placed in a moſt magnificent ſtructure built for that purpoſe, to remain for a certain time expoſed to publick view.

After all, as the Author of the 'Compleat Hiſtory of England,' obſerves in his notes, it remains a queſtion, where his body was really buried: It was, ſays he, in appearance, in Weſtminſter-Abbey; ſome report it was carried below bridge, and thrown into the Thames; but 'tis moſt probale that it was buried in Naſeby-Field. This account, continues he, is given, as averred, and ready to be depoſed, if occaſion required, by Mr. Barkſtead, ſon to Barkſtead the regicide, who was about fifteen years old at the time of Cromwell's death: "That the ſaid Barkſtead his father, being lieutenant of the Tower, and a great confident of Cromwell's, did among other ſuch confidents, in the time of his illneſs, deſire to know where he would be buried: To which the Protector anſwered, "Where he had obtained the greateſt victory and glory, and as nigh the ſpot as could be gueſſed where the heat of the action was," viz. in the field at Naſeby, Com' Northampton. Which accordingly was thus performed: At midnight, ſoon after his death, the body

body (being firſt embalmed and wrapt in a leaden coffin) was in a hearſe conveyed to the ſaid field, Mr. Barkſtead himſelf attending, by order of his father, cloſe to the hearſe: Being come to the field, they found, about the midſt of it, a grave dug about nine feet deep, with the green ſod carefully laid on one ſide, and the mould on the other; in which the coffin being put, the grave was inſtantly filled up, and the green ſod laid exactly flat upon it, care being taken taken that the ſurplus mould ſhould be clean removed. Soon after the like care was taken that the field ſhould be entirely ploughed up, and it was ſown three or four years ſucceſſively with corn." Several other material circumſtances, ſays the fore-mentioned author, the ſaid Mr. Barkſtead relates, too long to be here inſerted.

It is, I think, pretty certain, that Oliver's corpſe was not really interred in Weſtminſter-Abby; and conſequently, that it was not his body that was afterwards taken up and hanged at Tyburn for his: But whether this account of its being buried in Naſeby field, or the other of its being ſunk in the Thames, is moſt probable, I cannot ſay. What is ſaid for the former, we have ſeen; and the other was related by a Gentlewoman who attended Oliver in his laſt ſickneſs, as we are told by the Author of the "Hiſtory of England during the Reigns of the Royal Houſe of Stuart." She told him, that the day after the Protector's death, it was conſulted how to diſpoſe of his corpſe; when it was concluded, that conſidering the malice of the cavaliers, it was moſt certain they would inſult the body of their moſt dreadful enemy, if ever it ſhould be in their power; to prevent which, it was reſolved to wrap it up in lead, to put it on board a barge, and ſink it in the deepeſt part of the Thames; which was undertaken and performed by two of his near relations, and ſome truſty ſoldiers, the following night.

The

The Protector had three ſons, Oliver, Richard and Henry. Oliver died young. Richard married Dorothy eldeſt daughter of Richard Major, Eſq; of Hurſly in Hampſhire; where he lived a private life during the greateſt part of his father's government; but towards the latter end of it he was ſent for by him to come to court, and made one of his privy council, and ſoon after was choſen by the univerſity of Oxford to be their chancellor, with which honour he was very ſolemnly inſtalled at Whitehall. He was ſaid to be nominated by his father for his ſucceſſor, tho' the truth of it was very much queſtioned; and 'twas thought he never deſigned him for it, having ſcarce made any ſtep towards training him up to it. However, upon his father's death, he was ſolemnly proclaimed Protector all over England, &c. in the following form of words:

Some account of his children, and the ſtate of affairs till the Reſtoration.

" Whereas it hath pleaſed the moſt wiſe God, in his providence, to take out of this world the moſt ſerene and renowned Oliver, late Lord Protector of this commonwealth: And his Highneſs having in his life-time, according to the Humble Petition and Advice, declared and appointed the moſt noble and illuſtrious the Lord Richard, eldeſt ſon of his ſaid late Highneſs, to ſucced him in the government of theſe nations: We therefore of the privy council, together with the Lord-mayor, aldermen and citizens of London, the officers of the army, and numbers of other principal gentlemen, do now hereby, with one full voice and conſent of tongue and heart, publiſh and declare the ſaid noble and illuſtrious Lord Richard to be rightfully Protector of this commonwealth of England, Scotland and Ireland, and the dominions and territories thereunto belonging; to whom we acknowledge all fidelity and conſtant obedience, according to law, and the ſaid Humble Petition and Advice, with all hearty and humble affections, beſeeching

the Lord, by whom Princes rule, to bleſs him with long life, and theſe nations with peace and happineſs under his government."

Richard was congratulated hereupon by addreſſes from all parts of the three kingdoms, declaring their reſolutions to ſtand by him with their lives and fortunes. But the officers of the army being divided among themſelves, and the republican party in particular labouring to undermine him, and reſtore their beloved commonwealth, he found himſelf neceſſitated to call a Parliament. A Parliament was accordingly ſummoned, which Richard met on the 27th of January, with the ſame ſtate that the Engliſh Monarchs and his Father had done before him. They had not ſat long before great differences and contentions aroſe between them and the army; ſo that the officers being informed that ſome votes were paſſed in oppoſition to their deſigns, immediately ſent Fleetwood and Deſborough to the Protector, to adviſe him forthwith to diſſolve the parliament. Fleetwood alledged, "That if this were not preſently done, the nation would certainly be involved in blood." Deſborough, who was of a rougher temper, told him, "'Twas impoſſible for him to keep both Parliament and Army his friends; and deſired him to chuſe which he would prefer: If he diſſolved the Parliament out of hand, he had the Army at his devotion; if he refuſed that, he believed the Army would quickly pull him out of Whitehall." On the other hand, many members aſſured him, that the Parliament would continue firm to him, if he would but adhere to them: Some officers of the army likewiſe, as Ingoldſby, Whalley, Gough, and Howard, offered to ſtand by him, againſt thoſe who were called the General Council of the Army; and Howard in particular earneſtly preſſed him to exert himſelf by ſome vigorous action, ſuch as ſupported his father's authority to the laſt: "You

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are Cromwell's ſon, ſaid he, ſhew your ſelf worthy of that name: This buſineſs requires a bold ſtroke, ſupported by a good hand; do not ſuffer your ſelf to be daunted, and my head ſhall anſwer for the conſequence. Fleetwood, Lambert, Deſborough, and Vane, are the contrivers of this; I will rid you of them; do but ſtand by me, and ſecond my zeal with your name." Richard anſwered, "That he did not love blood;" and being a man of an irreſolute temper, was at laſt prevailed on by the oppoſite party to diſſolve the Parliament.

Having got rid of the Parliament, the council of officers were for laying Richard aſide too; and ſo they reſtored the remnant of the Long Parliament, which Oliver had ejected, to their ſeats again; and Richard, after a reign of about ſeven months and twenty days, returned to his former private life. When he was quitting his palace of Whitehall, he ordered his ſervants to be very careful of two old trunks, which ſtood in his wardrobe. The men wondred at this; and one of his friends hearing him enquire very earneſtly after them, aſked him what was in them, that made him ſo much concerned about them? "Why, no leſs, ſaid Richard, than the lives and fortunes of all the good people of England;" meaning the numberleſs addreſſes that were preſented to him.

The Long Parliament having ſat about five months, were again put down by the ambitious Lambert; and about three months after were again reſtored, by means of the ſoldiers revolting from their leaders, and declaring for the Parliament, and the interpoſition of General Monk, who now marched out of Scotland, and finding the ſpirit of the people generally run that way, reſtored the ſecluded members alſo to their ſeats again. This made ſuch an alteration in this aſſembly, that they ſoon diſſolved themſelves, having ordered a new Parliament to be ſummoned; which Parliament

meeting on April 25th 1660, in about a month's time brought in the King.

The Lord Clarendon tells the following ſtory of Richard Cromwell: That ſoon after the King's Reſtoration, he found himſelf under a neceſſity of retiring into France; and having continued ſome years in obſcurity at Paris, upon the firſt rumour of a war like to break out between England and France, he thought fit to leave that kingdom, and remove to Geneva. Taking his journey thither by Bourdeaux, and thro' the province of Languedoc, he went thro' Pezenas, a town belonging to the Prince of Conti, then Governor of Languedoc, who made his reſidence there. Staying ſome time in this place, he happened to meet with an old acquaintance of his father's and his party; who told him, "That the Prince of Conti expected all ſtrangers who came to that town to wait on him, and that he treated all, particularly the Engliſh, with great civility; that he need not be known, but that himſelf would inform the Prince, that another Engliſh gentleman was paſſing thro' the town, who would be glad to have the honour of kiſſing his hand." The prince, as his manner was, received him very civilly; and began to diſcourſe with him about the Engliſh affairs, aſking ſeveral queſtions about the King, and whether all quietly ſubmitted to his government; and in the end ſaid, "Well, that Oliver, tho' he was a traitor and a villian, was a brave man, had great parts, great courage, and was worthy to command; but that Richard, that coxcomb and poltron, was ſurely the baſeſt fellow alive; what is become of that fool? How was it poſſible he could be ſuch a ſot?" He anſwer'd, "That he was betray'd by thoſe he moſt truſted, and who had been moſt obliged by his Father;" and ſo having no great pleaſure of his viſit, ſoon took his leave, and the next morning left the town. And about two days after, the

Prince

Prince came to know that it was Richard himſelf, whom he had talk'd to after that manner. Richard, ſome years before the death of King Charles II. returned to England; and having lived to a great age, as a remarkable example of the ſecurity of innocence, and inſtability of human greatneſs, he dy'd at Cheſhunt, in Hertfordſhire, in the year 1712. Aged 86.

Oliver's third ſon, Henry, married Elizabeth, eldeſt daughter of Sir Francis Ruſſel of Chippenham in Cambridgeſhire, and was by his father made Lord Lieutenant of Ireland; where his deportment rendered him very popular, and he managed the government with ſo much diſcretion, that in a ſmall time he brought that diſordered nation into the moſt hopeful condition of a flouriſhing ſtate; But being called away by the Long Parliament, upon his brother's ſubmiſſion, he would not offer to reſiſt, but quietly laid down his charge. And thus ended the majeſty and glory of the Cromwell family, which had made, not only its own, but all neighbouring nations to tremble.

The Protector had four daughters, Bridget, Elizabeth, Mary, and Frances. Bridget was married firſt to general Ireton, and afterwards to general Fleetwood. Elizabeth was married to Mr. John Cleypole: Mary to lord viſcount Fauconberg; and Frances was married firſt to Mr. Robert Rich, grandſon and heir of the earl of Warwick, afterwards to Sir John Ruſſel, of Chippenham in Cambridgeſhire.

FINIS.

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MUSEUM

O Cromwell ap^t 25 born 1599 Died Sept 1659
Rich^d do — 1626 do — 1712
Henry do — 1628

O Cromwell born — 1599
Richard his eldest son do — 1626

1712
86
Rich^d — born in — 1626
1599
..27